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Winter 2004



HUMANITIES



Brown v Board of Education – Context and Legacy

MARYLAND HUMANITIES COUNCIL - Exploring the HUMAN Experience

Archaeology | Art Criticism | Comparative Religion | Ethics | History | Jurisprudence | Language | Literature | Philosophy | Related Social Sciences

DEAR FRIENDS:

This spring, the Maryland Humanities Council continues its special program initiative — “*Brown v Board of Education: Context and Legacy*” — to engage Marylanders in discussion about the impact of the Supreme Court’s May 17, 1954 decision to desegregate public schools.

I hope you will consider attending one or more of these fascinating presentations, given by some of Maryland’s most prestigious historians and scholars and held around the state. The following pages include details on these upcoming programs.

In addition, the articles included in this issue highlight the Court’s decision and its impact on Maryland residents. Baltimore was the first major city in the southern and border states to integrate its schools. Revered Baltimorean Walter Sondheim, Jr. shares his reflections on that historic time in Baltimore’s history. Other articles examine the challenges that faced our school systems — from Baltimore City to Prince George’s County — and how the decision affected our communities.

The Maryland Humanities Council is proud to have awarded \$40,000 in grants to support public programs considering the effects of this landmark event. Many of these programs grew out of a meeting that was convened by the Council in the fall and that included people representing organizations from around the state. The Council’s *Brown* initiative is also sponsoring numerous free Speakers Bureau presentations around Maryland; collaborating with WYPR in Baltimore to produce radio programs exploring the impact of *Brown*; maintaining a comprehensive listing of *Brown* events on our website, www.mdhc.org; and sponsoring the Maryland component of the national student essay contest conducted by the *Brown vs. Board of Education* 50th Anniversary Commission.

I hope you will take advantage of these opportunities to reflect on how far this nation has come — and how far it has yet to go — in fulfilling the promise of equality for all.

Peggy Burke
Executive Director



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Exploring the HUMAN Experience

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On the Cover:

African-American parents and children stand across the street from School No. 34 in Baltimore, as white pickets march, 1954. *Courtesy, Library of Congress.*

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Brown v Board of Education

Upcoming Programs funded by the

March 18 through March 21

Looking Back, Moving Forward: The Unfinished Business of *Brown v. Board of Education*

A public conference, supported by a Maryland Humanities Council grant, commemorates the fiftieth anniversary of the landmark *Brown* decision. The conference presents dynamic keynote speakers — such as Julian Bond, Juan Williams, and James Patterson — as well as seminars and panels of nationally-known scholars and local citizens. Full details are available at www.hood.edu/brownvboard.
Hood College, Frederick
Contact: Olivia White, 301-696-3573

March 23, 7:00pm

Brown at 50: New Challenges of the Hardening of the Categories

A lecture by Lenneal Henderson discusses the shift in the demographic, socioeconomic, and educational context of school segregation; the shift from rights to resources and the problem of equitable public school financing; and battles over curriculum and tracking in public school systems.
Washington College, Chestertown
Contact: Nina Wilson, 410-810-7457

March 26, 9:00am

Brown at 50: New Challenges of the Hardening of the Categories

A lecture by Lenneal Henderson discusses the shift in the demographic, socioeconomic, and educational context of school segregation; the shift from rights to resources and the problem of

equitable public school financing; and battles over curriculum and tracking in public school systems.

*Howard County Public Schools,
River Hill High School, Clarksville*
Contact: Mark Stout, 410-313-6622

March 29, 7:00pm

Dismantling Jim Crow Up South: Racial Desegregation in Baltimore, 1935-1955

A lecture by David Taft Terry examines the subtle, indirect, and non-coordinated “attack” by African Americans on various aspects of discrimination and Jim Crow in Baltimore from 1935 to 1955.

Frostburg State University, Frostburg
Contact: Robert Moore, 410-687-4995

April 2, 2:00pm

Brown at 50: New Challenges of the Hardening of the Categories

A lecture by Lenneal Henderson discusses the shift in the demographic, socioeconomic, and educational context of school segregation; the shift from rights to resources and the problem of equitable public school financing; and battles over curriculum and tracking in public school systems.
Smith Theatre, Howard Community College, Columbia
Contact: Stephanie Chapple, 410-772-4984

April 22

Re-enactment of the Argument before the Supreme Court

This public presentation is part of the programming for “In Celebration of *Brown*: A Community Partnership to Revisit the Decision and to Examine Its Aftermath,” which is supported by a Maryland Humanities Council grant. This re-enactment will let participants hear the actual arguments made in the *Brown* decision.

Ceremonial Courtroom, Prince George’s County Courthouse, Upper Marlboro
Contact: Robin Hailstorks, 301-322-0539

April 29, 11:30am

Brown v Board of Education: Its Promises, Its Failures, and Its Successes

A lecture by Walter Leonard discusses how part of American society rejoiced in the possibility of the end of inequality in education and other areas of American life, while others were horrified and actively sought to subvert the spirit of the *Brown* decision.

*Office of the Staff Judge Advocate,
Aberdeen Proving Ground, Aberdeen*
Contact: Matthew Lund, 410-278-1583

April 29, 7:30pm

The Significance of *Brown*

A public lecture by Dr. James Anderson is part of the programming for “In Celebration of *Brown*: A Community Partnership to Revisit the Decision and to Examine Its Aftermath,” which is supported by a Maryland Humanities Council grant. The lecture will explore the education policy implications of the

MARYLAND HUMANITIES COUNCIL

Brown decision.

Rennie Forum, Prince George's
Community College, Largo

Contact: Robin Hailstorks, 301-322-0539

April 29 through May 1

Looking Backward, Looking Forward: The Fiftieth Anniversary of *Brown v The Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*

A public conference, supported by a Maryland Humanities Council grant, is being sponsored by Coppin State College, Morgan State University, and the University of Maryland School of Law. This conference, featuring a presentation by Eleanor Holmes Norton, will critically assess the impact of the *Brown* decision on all levels of education.

Coppin State College, Morgan State
University, and the University of
Maryland School of Law

Contact: Cynthia Neverdon-Morton,
410-951-3433

May 11, 7:00pm

Testing Ground for *Brown*: Maryland, 1935-1941

A lecture by Bruce Thompson contends that Maryland served as the testing ground for the legal campaign that culminated in *Brown v Board of Education*. The challenge in Maryland started with the test case of *Murray v Pearson* in 1935 and gradually expanded the scope of the *Murray* decision to high schools and teachers' salaries.

Historical Society of Frederick
County, Frederick

Contact: Mark Hudson, 301-663-1188

May 12 through 26

MPT's "Maryland Legacy"

Maryland Public Television's "Maryland Legacy" spots dealing with African-American leaders will be broadcast twice a day, supported by a Maryland Humanities Council grant. Among the people included will be Thurgood Marshall, Gloria Richardson, and Parren J. Mitchell.

Broadcast statewide

Contact: Everett Marshburn,
410-581-4176

May 12, 7:00pm

Separate But Equal Has No Place

A lecture by Janet Sims-Wood discusses the origins and context of the separate cases that were combined into the *Brown* decision. These cases presented segregation at its worst: overcrowded classrooms in run-down buildings without indoor plumbing, little money for books and supplies, no bus service for rural school children.

Historical Society of Talbot County, Easton
Contact: Rebecca Partise, 410-822-0773

May 17

The Legacy of *Brown v. Board of Education* in Frederick County

A traveling exhibit, supported by a Maryland Humanities Council grant, will be unveiled by the Historical Society of Frederick County. This exhibit will display the memories, documents, and artifacts reflecting this unique period in Frederick County's history.

Frederick County Public Library, Frederick
Community College, Hood College, and
other Frederick County sites

Contact: Mark Hudson, 301-663-1188

May 17

MPT's "Direct Connection"

A special edition of the Maryland Public Television's public affairs show, "Direct Connection," supported by a Maryland Humanities Council grant, will focus on the impact of the *Brown* decision in Maryland.

Broadcast statewide

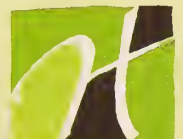
Contact: Everett Marshburn,
410-581-4176

May 19, 7:00pm

Separate But Equal Has No Place

A lecture by Janet Sims-Wood discusses the origins and context of the separate cases that were combined into the *Brown* decision. These cases presented segregation at its worst: overcrowded classrooms in run-down buildings without indoor plumbing, little money for books and supplies, no bus service for rural school children.

Ames United Methodist Church, Bel Air
Contact: Sharoll Love, 410-273-8982



1 Reflections on *Brown*: A Conversation with Walter Sondheim, Jr.

Recently, Maryland Humanities Council board member and Goucher College President Emerita Rhoda Dorsey sat down with Walter Sondheim, Jr. to discuss his recollections about the decision to desegregate the Baltimore City public schools and his thoughts on the legacy of the *Brown* decision.



Walter Sondheim, Jr. Courtesy of the Greater Baltimore Committee.

Mr. Sondheim was born in Baltimore in 1908 and was educated at the Park School and Haverford College. He worked at Hochschild, Kohn, and Company for over forty years, retiring as Senior Vice President and Treasurer. For more than fifty years, Mr. Sondheim has been a public servant and civic leader in Baltimore. He served on the Baltimore City Board of School Commissioners in the early 1950s and was president of that Board when it desegregated in 1954 following the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v Board of Education*. In succeeding years, he continued his active involvement in education through leadership positions with a number of private and public educational institutions, the chairmanship of the Governor's Commission on School Performance, and most recently, as a member of the Maryland State Board of Education, where he served as president from 1998-2000. Mr. Sondheim has also been instrumental in the renewal of downtown Baltimore, first as chairman of the Urban Renewal and Housing Commission, and later as chairman of Charles Center-Inner Harbor Management, Inc. He currently serves as a Senior Adviser to the Greater Baltimore Committee.

Rhoda Dorsey: What do you recall about the implementation of the *Brown v Board of Education* decision in Baltimore?

Walter Sondheim, Jr.: What happened with *Brown v Board* and the Baltimore City Board of School Commissioners was much less dramatic than I like to be able to say it was. First of all, there was no feeling that the decision was being rammed down our throats. The Board was really ahead of the population of Baltimore in that sense, and in general it was welcomed. I don't think anyone particularly enjoyed running separate schools — we strained at doing it. A couple of years before *Brown*, Baltimore City School Superintendent William H. Lemmel — it seems strange now that it was a marked event — had a meeting of all the teachers before school opening. Before that time, the teachers had had separate meetings, one for “white staff” and one for the “colored staff.” Lemmel broke that tradition by having one meeting for everybody.

Dorsey: Tell me about the decision to integrate Poly [Baltimore Polytechnic Institute High School] in 1952?

Sondheim: Many people have asked me whether the Poly decision two years before *Brown* had an effect on our implementation of desegregation. I don't recall it having any effect, because the Poly case was a much tougher battle. Roszel C. Thomson was

president of the Baltimore City Board of School Commissioners at the time.

The big issue in this case was whether the school system — still in the “separate, but equal” days — could set up an “equal” opportunity for African-American children. Maryland had done what it was supposed to do: it had established a separate school at Douglass High School comparable to the “A” course at Poly. Many argued this was impossible as the “A” course at Poly had a long and distinguished history; everybody who graduated from it got sophomore standing at the leading engineering schools like Cornell, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the University of Pennsylvania. This was a reputation that you couldn’t build overnight at Douglass. So, the “equality” of the program was the real issue.

When the vote came, J. Trueman Thompson, a Civil Engineering Professor at Johns Hopkins University, voted against admitting the kids to Poly. He said that every bone in his body was opposed to segregation, but that he was not going to vote that you couldn’t have a Douglass professor as good as a Poly one. He thought that was demeaning, and he wouldn’t vote for it. It was one of the few honest votes on the board. Everybody else voted with his heart, and he voted with his head.

After the vote, what do you think Poly principal Wilmer DeHuff asked, “What should I do if one of these kids comes out for the football team?” Roszel Thomson gave the answer without consulting any of us, “If he can play football, let him play.”

I don’t think our decision in the Poly case had any effect on integration, because I believe the decision in complying with *Brown v Board* would have gone exactly the same way.

Dorsey: How was the decision made to implement *Brown v Board* in 1954?

Sondheim: When we met after the *Brown* decision, the only question that was raised was whether we were allowed to desegregate the schools. A Baltimore City ordinance required separate schools, and a Maryland state law required separate schools. The Board sent a letter to the Baltimore City Solicitor Thomas N. Biddison asking whether we were still bound by the city and state ordinances and laws. The letter back was very clear and short. It said that in view of the Supreme Court decision, the state and city laws had no effect.

I was sure that everybody on the Board of School Commissioners, except possibly one person, would vote to desegregate, but I felt that a unanimous vote was very important in this matter. On the day before the vote was scheduled, I called everybody on the Board to make sure he or



Thurgood Marshall walking with Donald Gaines Murray during the University of Maryland desegregation case in 1938. Courtesy, Library of Congress.

she was going to vote for desegregation and to try to persuade anybody that needed persuasion. When we met, Commissioner John Sherwood made the motion to integrate the schools in the fall of 1954. It was the first item to vote on, so I asked for discussion, and then for the vote. The whole thing didn’t take 45 seconds, and we went on to the rest of the day’s business.

Dorsey: What was the reaction of the Maryland State School Board?

Sondheim: Fifty years ago, the relationship between the Baltimore City School Board and the State Department of Education was very different than it is today. In Baltimore City, we ran our own school system and hardly knew there was a State Department of Education. It’s hard for people to realize how independent we were. It simply would never have occurred to us to talk to the State about this.

Baltimore City School Superintendent John Fischer called me a couple of days after the vote to desegregate and said that Thomas Pullen, the State Superintendent of Schools, had called him and said that we couldn’t do it. The State Board had decided that since the Supreme Court had said that desegregation had to be done “with all deliberate speed,” they

would adopt a “go slow” approach. They had decided that we couldn’t desegregate in the fall of 1954. I told John Fischer to tell Pullen that he could come to Baltimore and try to unscramble the egg that we had scrambled if he wanted to!

Dorsey: Why did you feel so confident moving ahead with immediate desegregation?

Sondheim: I think it never occurred to us to wait. We thought that this was the law. I think the difference between us and states further South is that no one ever knew whether Maryland was a southern or a northern state. We didn’t feel that we had done something that would excite people to the extent that people in the South were excited. We knew that it wasn’t popular, but the real appearance of the unpopularity came later, in the fall of 1954.

Things were fairly quiet at first. When schools opened in the fall, we had problems. It had been simmering over the summer, and there were people stirring this thing up. The first thing we saw was a picket line outside of the school on Washington Boulevard. Later, there was some trouble around Southern High School in south Baltimore.

I remember being at a school on 25th Street for a School Board strategy meeting to rally support for the schools. There was a report of a planned picket line at the junior high school that Civil Rights activist Clarence Mitchell, Sr.’s children attended. We were having this meeting, and Clarence Mitchell appeared as I’d never seen him before. I knew him well. He was a very calm, a very decent, a very fine person, but now he had sweat on his face. He wanted us to know that he was going out there to counter picket. He wasn’t going to have anybody picket a school that his children were in. I remember going out into the hallway, talking to Clarence about it, and begging him not to do it. We hadn’t had any violence, and so many things might start with counter pickets. Reluctantly, he agreed.

Dorsey: How did you rally support for the schools?

Sondheim: We had a meeting of clergymen that the Council of Churches had organized, and we were trying to get ministers in their pulpits to talk about the importance of keeping peace in the city. The question of the Archdiocese came up, and we asked them to ask the parish priests on Sunday to talk about not having this kind of disturbance. I got a telephone call from the Archdiocese asking if I would write what I thought the priests ought to say, but they never used it. They did their own.



Thurgood Marshall, Donald Murray, and another attorney, probably Charles Houston, arguing for Murray’s admission to the University of Maryland School of Law, c1935. Courtesy, Library of Congress.

Dorsey: What was the reaction of the local politicians to the School Board’s decision to desegregate?

Sondheim: That’s interesting because by the 1950s, the school system also was really separated from City Hall. In the 1910s and 1920s, the schools had been run by the Democratic bosses of Baltimore City. They sat in the lobby of the Rennert Hotel and sold principalships for a hundred and fifty dollars and vice principalships for seventy-five dollars.

The civic activist Mrs. Marie Baurenschmidt deserves great credit for getting political corruption out of the public school system. She drove such terror in the hearts of public officials that eventually nobody in the schools wanted to have anything to do with City Hall.

At the time of the vote to desegregate, Baltimore Mayor Tommy D’Alessandro, Jr. was ill in Bon Secours hospital. So, the president of the City Council, Arthur B. Price, was Acting Mayor. A couple days before our school meeting — when I knew we were going to desegregate the schools — I realized that nobody in City Hall knew that we were going to do it! So, I went down to see Mr. Price and told him that I thought the board would vote for desegregation. Mr. Price started wringing his hands. He saw blood in the streets and everything else. I told him that if people complain to you, just tell them that City Hall had nothing to do with it. That satisfied him.

After the vote, I went over to see Tommy D'Alesandro in Bon Secours hospital. And I'll never forget what he did. He kind of shook his hand at me and said, "I don't know whether what you did was right, but the priests tell me you were right." And that solved the local political problem.

Dorsey: What effect did the decision have on you personally?

Sondheim: My colleagues at the Hochschild, Kohn, and Company department stores were very nice, even though I was away from business most of the time. People threatened to close their charge accounts, which was a real threat in those days; the charge accounts were the life blood of the store. We had about fifty thousand charge accounts, but I don't think we had half a dozen people close their accounts.

Somebody burned a cross on my lawn; of course, it was a very small cross. We were living in Windsor Hills, across from Windsor Hills School on Alto Road. There was a small cross that somebody planted on the lawn. My neighbor, Edgar Jones, who was on the *Sun* staff, put it out, because he didn't want my children to see it. So, I didn't even see it when it was burning, but it was kind of small and a little charred.

Dorsey: Weren't you frightened for your family?

Sondheim: I'd like to say that I was, but I wasn't. The worst place was the area around Southern High School. South Baltimore was more susceptible to being upset about the vote to desegregate, because of the strong support for racial segregation there. I went down there, and there was a big crowd in the streets. My biggest hope was that nobody would recognize me!

Dorsey: What was the reaction to desegregation within the schools?

Sondheim: I'm sure there were people who objected to it, but we were going to desegregate the staff of the schools that summer. Dr. Bernard Harris, who was a member of the school board, was concerned that the

principal at Douglass was retiring. He was afraid that as a result of desegregation, John Fischer might appoint a white principal for the school. We were good friends and I said, "Well, you can't have it both ways." I knew that John Fischer would never put a white principal at Douglass High School.

The reaction of the students depended on the school. Poly principal Wilmer DeHuff wouldn't stand for any such foolishness. When there were a few days of disturbances and kids were walking out of school in protest — but making a school holiday out of protest — DeHuff stood at the door of Poly and said anybody who goes out here can't ever come back in. He was tough!

Dorsey: It seems like you spent inordinate amounts of time on desegregation and the reaction to it.

Sondheim: All of this really happened over a very short period. The trouble in the schools lasted for a very short time. We were at a meeting when someone discovered a city law which made it illegal to disturb or to interfere with a school that was in session. None of us knew there was such a law. We told the Baltimore Police Commissioner, and he went on the air on Sunday, said this law existed, and declared that the



White and Black under arrest near Southern High School, Baltimore, 1954. *Courtesy, Special Collections of the University of Maryland Libraries.*

Police Department was going to enforce the law. On Washington Boulevard, women and housewives picketed when the school opened or when the school bell rang. The policemen there said “Ladies, that’s it,” and they moved.

I don’t remember a lot of picketing. I wasn’t picketed, and there weren’t any pickets where I worked. And, people knew that I was an officer at Hochschild, Kohn, and Company.

Dorsey: What do you think the long term effects of the *Brown* decision have been?

Sondheim: Now I don’t want to pontificate, but the *Brown* decision brought about an enormous change in our society, and it exposed some of our weaknesses. I’m sure that a lot of people thought the idea that we had solved the racial problem in America. We believed that once kids began to go to school together that we’d immediately start a generation of people who didn’t have racial prejudice. How wrong we were.

It started almost a syndrome in our society in which skin color gets to be more important than anything else. It was obviously a very worthwhile thing to have set things in motion, but it’s taking a long, long time for us to cure our disabilities.

Brown also caused a number of unintended consequences, but it doesn’t mean that *Brown* was the wrong thing. It’s very hard to make yourself clear on this. If you would ask me whether we should have, or the Supreme Court should have ordered desegregation of the schools, obviously it should have. That was the beginning of the recognition of Civil Rights in this country.

On the other hand, it had profound consequences. It is the major thing that depopulated the cities. But these are things which will be part of our own social history, and we have the misfortune of living through a period of adjustment. *Brown* had to happen, because we had reached a point in our society where we could no longer tolerate the oppression and treatment of blacks as second-class citizens. So, something

was going to happen even if *Brown* hadn’t happened. It would have happened some other way. As a matter of fact, much more was produced out of the Civil Rights movement in the decades after *Brown*, than the decision itself. Civil Rights went far beyond the schools and far beyond standing in the doorway of a schoolhouse and saying you weren’t welcome.

There were very few integrated schools in the couple of years after *Brown*, because the schools were basically neighborhood schools, and you had neighborhood segregation. But there were a couple black kids at Southern High School who had problems getting home through the people in the streets. The principal of Southern — this brings tears to my eyes when I think about it — appeared in the doorway of Southern with these two black kids, who I suppose were terrified, along with the captain of the football team and the president of the student council. They were a guard for these kids, and they got them home in a police car.



Teenagers protest school desegregation outside Baltimore’s City Hall in 1955. Courtesy, Library of Congress.



Pickets at School No. 22, Scott and Hamburg Streets, Baltimore, 1954. Courtesy, Special Collections of the University of Maryland Libraries.

Dorsey: As someone who has been on the Maryland State School Board for so many years, what were the statewide implications of *Brown* and where are we today with the continuing challenges in public education?

Sondheim: The effects of *Brown* on the rest of the state came along much later, and there was a somewhat different attitude in some parts of the state. I think *Brown*'s influence on that was just part of the beginning of a change in attitude and a change of behavior that preceded changes in segregated school systems.

Everybody points the finger at school systems, saying we haven't done this and we haven't done that. The biggest thing that people get upset about in both the urban and non-urban schools is the "achievement gap," particularly between African-American kids and the rest of the population. I don't think the school systems themselves can cure this. They can make it better, but this gap is the product of an enormous social problem we have — the difference in economic circumstances and the way people live. Problems in schools are often

caused by kids who come to school behind in reading or because they have, very often, a mother or father who is behind in reading. These young minds go back to a home where they don't need to read — to a home often without a newspaper or a book in it. The only sure thing is that the house has a television set. The schools can do better than they have, but public education has the burden of doing something that it doesn't know how to do. ✱

Dismantling Jim Crow: Baltimore's Challenge to Racial Segregation, 1935-1955

BY DAVID TAFT TERRY

On a beautiful spring day in West Baltimore, twelve-year-old Lynda Hall skated on the sidewalk in front of her home on Presstman Street. Her aunt, Leonia Young, burst onto the porch to find Lynda. "Oh baby! Oh baby!" Leonia exclaimed, struggling to contain herself, "this is such a blessing! This is such a blessing!" It was May 17, 1954, and the radio had just announced that the United States Supreme Court struck down segregation in public schools. Not everyone in Baltimore received the news of *Brown v the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* with Leonia's euphoria. Nonetheless, many perhaps understood that developments in the city's recent past made the end of compulsory racial segregation inevitable. For at least twenty years before the *Brown* ruling, the enormous force of "everyday" folk pursuing something better undermined racial segregation mandated by law in certain key areas — employment, housing, public spaces, and even education.

Since the time of Emancipation in the 1860s economic circumstance, as much as racism, had handicapped Baltimore's African-Americans. Those seeking elevation of the black condition understood that advances in economic opportunities were crucial to other gains in social access and civil rights. Yet, not until the 1930s did workplaces across Baltimore begin to yield such access and opportunity. Over the middle decades of the twentieth century increased access and opportunity came in a wide array of industries.

The true strength behind the change rested on the expanding black population. They came by bus, train, and car, as well as on foot. They came to earn higher wages and to escape from the "hedged-in" experience of the deeper South. They came in search of greater job variety and greater political freedom. By the mid-1940s, this "great migration" of Baltimore-bound blacks averaged fifty people each day. Drawn to Baltimore for the chance at something better, they more than doubled the city's African-American population in the forty years following 1910.

Those arriving in the 1930s and 1940s found Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal resonating in Baltimore's black communities as a chance for real change. Union goals and civil rights aims largely paralleled each other. Amid the talk of labor reform, a "rights consciousness" developed among blacks, supplying working-class militancy with a powerful, moral foundation. Indeed, considerations of race occupied a pivotal point in black workers' perspectives on unionism. They understood that in spite of the new talk, white protectionism often remained an obstacle. Thus, the elevation of civil rights as an issue eased the recruitment of the black working class into union ranks.

New Deal labor reform initiatives paid dividends when mobilization for World War II created bountiful work opportunities. War-time protests, such as the 1942 "March on Annapolis," also emphasized the need for opportunities. Yet, even during



David Taft Terry is a Research Specialist at the Maryland State Archives where he has researched Maryland history related to the Underground Railroad, lynching, and racial desegregation in the mid-twentieth century. His forthcoming book examines pre-1954 desegregation in Baltimore City and the Urban Upper South. He holds degrees from the University of Maryland College Park, Morgan State University, and Howard University.

the national emergency, protectionist tendencies among whites continued. The most troublesome form of white protectionism manifested itself in “hate-strikes.” In notable instances — the strike at Western Electric in 1943, for example — white workers walked off their jobs to protest the absence of worksite segregation. Racial tensions aside, many blacks progressed economically and occupationally during the war.

Beyond industrial work, however, blacks struggled through the 1940s. Nearly all of the 800 black employees in the city’s post offices in 1948, for example, worked as custodians or mail handlers. The municipal government was worse, as many city departments categorically barred African-Americans. Slowly, this began to change. By the early 1950s, most municipal entities dropped their color bar, including the Baltimore City Fire Department, which appointed ten black firefighters in 1953. In the private sector, several important companies offered semi-skilled positions to blacks for the first time, including the Yellow Cab Company, which opened driver opportunities in 1951. The least success came in the retail and service-provider sectors. The obstacle to black “front-line” employment at the large downtown department stores, for example, was not would-be fellow employees, but white customer objections. Things would improve, just not right away.

By 1956, after numerous failed attempts in the preceding years, the Baltimore City Council passed a fair employment practices law, creating a nine-member Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Though the commission enjoyed fairly wide-based support, its lack of enforcement power meant it could do little more than take complaints and hold



A drinking fountain at Bethlehem-Fairfield shipyards in Baltimore, 1943.
Courtesy, Library of Congress.

hearings. Thus, Baltimore blacks did not achieve all — perhaps not even most — of what they desired with respect to employment opportunities. Yet, at its most basic levels, the progress made on this front was irreversible.

As late as the mid-1940s, blacks made up twenty percent of Baltimore’s population but occupied less than two percent of the city’s residential area. Advancements in employment combined with other developments to address this deficiency, however. By the mid-1950s, in fact, many blacks had pushed out of the ghetto in a dramatic exodus.

As World War II began, Baltimore’s housing situation for the poor and for blacks was deplorable. Massive dilapidation posed safety hazards, while inadequacies such as the lack of indoor plumbing in many units contributed to an unhealthy quality of life. Construction

of new housing suffered under wartime restrictions. Meanwhile, restrictive race covenants limited options for purchasing existing homes. At war’s end, fully seventy percent of the housing that was open to blacks in Baltimore was sub-standard. Making matters worse, tens of thousands of temporary war workers had migrated to the city during the war. The city’s population grew from roughly 860,500 to a high of 962,000.

Construction of the city’s first “low-rent” public housing project began in 1939. For many African-Americans, these initiatives provided the only hope of relief from residential overcrowding. Tenant assignment, however, proceeded under a racially segregated system. Only a few years after its inception, the Baltimore Housing Authority (BHA), which oversaw operation of public housing projects, had a tenant population greater than 20,000.

As late as the mid-1940s, blacks made up twenty percent of Baltimore’s population but occupied less than two percent of the city’s residential area. By the mid-1950s, in fact, many blacks had pushed out of the ghetto in a dramatic exodus.



"Street in the Negro Section, Baltimore, Maryland." July 1938. Courtesy, Library of Congress.

During the 1940s, legal challenges to restrictive covenants continued, though lower courts habitually turned black plaintiffs away. A breakthrough came, however, in 1948, when the United States Supreme Court combined and heard three cases from St. Louis, Detroit, and Washington, DC as *Shelley v Kramer*. The Court ruled that restrictive covenants were constitutionally unenforceable. Numerous new housing opportunities opened for black middle class folk, relieving, in turn, some of the congestive pressure on the working class. As blacks began to push against the ghetto's barriers, some faced intimidation. Sometimes, their new homes were vandalized, and their new neighbors often received them coldly. Yet, neither threats nor the preexisting racial make-up of neighborhoods swayed blacks from improving their housing circumstances.

Hasty evacuation of their traditional neighborhoods shaped the reaction of most whites. In less than a decade, many all-white neighborhoods became overwhelmingly black. The 1950 census suggests that in the wake of *Shelley*, whites moved out of their communities faster than the blacks moved in — by nearly two to one. Thus, by simply "moving-in," countless blacks in Baltimore pushed the city toward a more

desegregated and open existence. This sentiment stretched to public housing as well. The BHA ended segregation in public housing in early 1954, when it implemented the first non-segregation policy below the Mason-Dixon Line.

As blacks pushed into new neighborhoods, the question of access to neighborhood facilities arose. Historically, the city's theaters restricted African-Americans mainly to the balconies. Parks and recreation sites left them the fewest and least desirable facilities. Luncheonettes sold them only take-out food. Hotels refused them rooms for out-of-town guests. Most department stores turned them away as customers; even those that accepted their money would not let them try on clothing before purchase or return items after purchase. Indeed, Baltimore's public spaces hammered home the second-class status of blacks.

Nowhere did the black residential invasion have a more immediate impact than upon neighborhood recreational facilities. Fearing their children would be arrested for swinging on white-only swings — though few whites were left around to use them — black parents through their neighborhood associations protested and petitioned for change. Meanwhile, black and white Baltimoreans challenged codes prohibiting



Bayard Rustin, Mrs. Bowen Jackson, and Mrs. Earl Williams picket Ford's Theatre in Baltimore, 1948. Courtesy, Library of Congress.

interracialism at public facilities. By 1951 "Jim Crow" was dead at the city's golf courses, and the city's athletic fields, tennis courts, and playgrounds accommodated interracial play. The fight over swimming pools and public beaches lasted a bit longer, yet by 1955 these, too, opened to all.

The fight over downtown public accommodations differed tactically from desegregation of public recreation. With respect to lunch counters, department stores, theaters, and hotels, there were no "rights" to speak of, only privileges. Moral suasion and demonstration, therefore, proved more useful than the courts. Baltimore's Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), an interracial reform organization, used these tactics against lunch counters, diners, and restaurants. Subsequently, in 1953, Kresge's, Woolworth's, and Schulte-United opened to blacks with little fuss. CORE's "sit-in" tactics opened McCrory's by fall 1953 and W. T. Grant by the next April. The last holdout, Read's Drugstore, surrendered in January 1955.

To protect their children from negative experiences, many blacks generally bypassed downtown stores for more accommodating stores along Pennsylvania Avenue. Others, especially the black middle class, planned shopping sprees to New York

or Philadelphia, which welcomed them. All the while, reform groups pressed the downtown retailers to change their ways.

Public demonstration and pressure fell upon Baltimore's theaters and hotels. Picketing at Ford's Theatre, for example, began in 1946. Though it required years of demonstration and behind-the-scenes negotiation, segregation ended at Ford's and most other theaters by 1952. Baltimore hotels resisted change longer. The Sheraton-Belvedere became the first to open its facilities to blacks in 1957, though few others followed right away. Thus, against the backdrop of important success in the retail and service industries, the 1950s ended with much left to do.

Baltimore's school population also increased dramatically during the war. For African-Americans it seemed there were never enough resources or materials to go around. They shared second-hand books in their schools. Overcrowded classrooms meant that black students often went to school in rotating shifts. These conditions meant less work got done, resulting in black schools lagging at least a year behind white ones.

Material deficiencies aside, black schools did possess capable and concerned faculties. Teachers appeared committed and seemingly valued students. Family and community aided students, making up in ways for the conditions under which they learned. Yet, best efforts notwithstanding, schools constantly stretched to meet too great a demand with too few resources.

Indeed, the material deficiencies hampered black education in Baltimore at all levels. Yet, the fight to bring equality to educational opportunities bore its first fruits for black graduate and professional students. In 1936, a Baltimore court ordered the all-white University of Maryland School of Law to admit African-American Donald Murray because the state did not provide a "separate but equal" opportunity for blacks to gain legal training. The victory in *Donald Murray v the University of Maryland* suggested that the upper-end, unique programs were the places to begin challenging racial inequity.

At the elementary and high school level, *Murray* had no impact for more than a decade. While blacks realized peripheral "progress" during the 1930s and 1940s — schools had eliminated textbooks using words like "darky," for example — this was not enough. Thus, by 1952, many resolved to intensify desegregation efforts. *Murray* had not led to wider desegregation because its formula did not translate well below graduate and professional training — there were too many students involved and there was too much room for interpretations of "equal." Only unique environments could hope to benefit from *Murray's* precedent. Baltimore's Polytechnic Institute High

School fit this requirement, and African-Americans pushed to open it to their children.

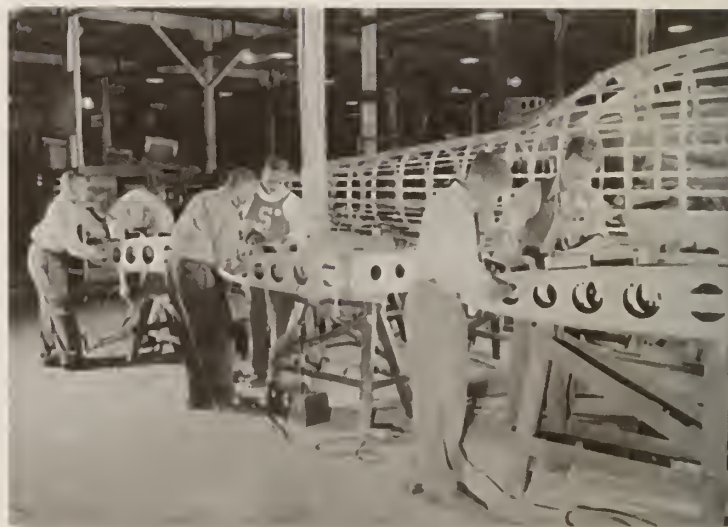
Harking back to *Murray*, the Baltimore City Board of School Commissioners voted 5 to 3 to provide an opportunity “within the law.” Fifteen blacks entered Poly in September 1952. Though Poly, like *Murray*, did not challenge the “separate but equal” doctrine directly, some segregationists saw the writing on the wall, speculating, “it is later than you think.” Integrationists also believed that Poly established a new precedent.

Accordingly, in January 1953, blacks applied to Mergenthaler Vocational High School, seeking “better” training than offered at Carver, the black high school that was home to vocational and technical training. When they were denied, a law suit followed. The case was still pending in May 1954 when the United States Supreme Court handed down its decision in *Brown*, eliminating “Jim Crow” in public schools.

Southern states hesitated to implement desegregation, and Maryland was among them. Baltimore’s school board, however, existed autonomously. When it decided to move forward with desegregation beginning September 1954, it became the first school system in the South to do so.

Historically, Baltimore’s schools had not been districted; white students attended the white public school of their choice, and black students attended the black public school of their choice. Parents generally chose the school that was closest to their home. Therefore, integration was not immediately compulsory; transfers initiated by parents produced whatever integration occurred. Schools in neighborhoods undergoing racial residential transition experienced the greatest integration. In all, however, integration occurred in about 600 classes across thirty public schools. For the first month few disturbances took place, but in October, protests flared briefly. Response from law enforcement was immediate, and order returned quickly.

The relative ease of the transition from segregation to desegregation in Baltimore’s schools can be traced to developments in the preceding two decades. The victories against “Jim Crow” in other areas — employment, housing, and public spaces — prepared Baltimore for segregation’s inevitable demise in education. For blacks like Lynda Hall, who entered previously whites-only schools in 1954, the material difference in their education was overwhelming. This was the “blessing” Lynda’s aunt Leonia proclaimed when she first heard the news of *Brown*. ❀



African-American graduates of a war training course attach skins to the fins of medium bombers in a Glenn L. Martin Bomber Plant, 1942. Courtesy, Library of Congress.



Audience at a mass meeting held by the Fair Employment Practices Committee, January 16, 1946, in the white Mount Vernon Methodist Church, Baltimore. Courtesy, Library of Congress.

Expert Witnesses: The NAACP Legal Defense Fund's Strategy for *Brown*

BY DEBRA NEWMAN HAM

When Kenneth and Mamie Clark began tests in the early 1940s with four dolls from a New York City dime store, it might have looked like child's play. It was not. Using these dolls, they were continuing years of psychological work with black children. They were developing their own methods and modifying a test developed by two other psychologists, Marian Radke and Helen Trager.

As part of a Philadelphia Early Childhood Project, Radke and Trager had tested black and white children by using cardboard dolls that were identical except that some were tinted brown with dark hair and others were pink with light hair. For the experiment they used a shabby dollhouse and a nice house; raggedy clothes and pretty clothing. They asked the children to dress the dolls in their own clothes and put them in their houses. The majority of the children — black and white — dressed the brown doll in the shabby clothes and placed her in the shabby house. They dressed the light doll in nice clothes and placed her in the nice house. The psychologists used this to argue that poverty and racism adversely affected the children's perception of themselves and each other.

The Clarks, particularly Mamie, had been studying the damaging effects of racism on black children for several years. While at Howard University in the 1930s, Mamie met Kenneth Bancroft Clark who was a graduate student and a teaching assistant. When Mamie took Kenneth's course in abnormal psychology, she was fascinated with the subject and with him. Kenneth convinced Mamie to change her major to psychology, and he became not only her instructor and mentor but also her husband, life-long collaborator, and companion. During her undergraduate years Mamie's interest in the psychological health of African-American children led to her life-long work with them. She began by administering individual psychological tests to about 200 pre-school children in Works Projects Administration nursery schools in Washington, DC. She was interested in their self-image, their sense of identity, and the detrimental effects of racism. The Clarks coauthored an article based on her 1939 thesis, "The Development of Consciousness of Self in Negro Children." After Mamie graduated from Howard she joined Kenneth at Columbia University in New York City where they both earned doctorates in psychology.

The Clarks worked with many instruments and tests to evaluate children. The diaper-clad dolls they purchased were central to one test on self-perception. Two of the plastic dolls were colored brown with dark hair and the other two were pink with blonde hair. For their experiment, the Clarks gave children between the ages of three and seven a black doll and a white doll and asked them which they liked better. The majority of the black children considered the white doll to be both prettiest and better, and they attributed the most positive characteristics to it. The Clarks also found that many black children who were given line drawings of children and



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instructed to color the children the same color as themselves colored the drawings pink, colored them an outlandish color like green or blue, refused to color at all, or cried in frustration over the test.

In 1950 Kenneth Clark gained national attention when he presented a paper about the detrimental effects of segregation on black children to President Harry Truman's Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth. One person who was extremely impressed with the implications of Clark's research was Robert L. Carter, a leading attorney with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense Fund (nicknamed the "Ink Fund"). Carter had attended the conference lecture by Clark on the detrimental effect of segregation on black children and felt that Clark's findings were so convincing that the psychologist's testimony could be used effectively in court cases that the Ink Fund was bringing against segregated school systems. Schools were not only separated by race. Black teachers and principals received less pay than their white counterparts. Black schools usually had shoddy or dilapidated facilities and tattered books. The Ink Fund was attempting to end the injustices of racial discrimination.

The Ink Fund was fighting to dismantle the terrible effects of the Supreme Court's 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. In this decision — which established the principle of "separate but equal" — Justice Henry B. Brown dismissed the plaintiff's argument "... that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chose to put that construction upon it."

In order to fight against segregation laws the Ink Fund had to demonstrate that those laws did indeed stamp "the colored race with a badge of inferiority." The Clarks' research provided clear evidence of this.

After Clark agreed to be an expert witness for the Ink Fund, Carter persuaded his somewhat reluctant fellow attorneys that the use of Clark's psychological evidence could be helpful. Some of the attorneys actually laughed at the idea. Beginning in 1951 with a case in Charleston, South Carolina, Clark worked with Carter, Thurgood Marshall, Jack Green-



Kenneth and Mamie Clark. Courtesy, Library of Congress.

berg, and other Ink Fund attorneys to prepare cases that would eventually bring down the elaborate system of segregation in the South and other parts of the nation. In a series of trials, Clark became increasingly skilled in making his presentation before critical judges. He learned how to phrase his replies and present the type of evidence that provided the strongest support for the cases. He also regularly attempted to enlist other well-known psychologists to testify or submit written reports to strengthen his presentations in the battle against segregation. The Ink Fund lawyers were actually surprised at the effectiveness of the expert witnesses in the courts. The attorneys readily admitted that Clark and other scholars influenced

many decisions in their favor.

In 1953, a few years after the South Carolina cases the NAACP Legal Defense Fund brought before the United States Supreme Court five cases relating to school segregation that became collectively known as *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. The Fund lawyers were not sure at first how they would use Clark's expertise but eventually decided to submit a written report which would explain the psychological tests the Clarks had conducted with white and black children in the North, South, and West. To accompany their report to the Court, the Clarks collected letters from leading psychologists throughout the country corroborating their findings. When the Ink Fund lawyers presented their arguments before the justices of the Supreme Court, they utilized cases relating to segregated schools in various parts of the United States. They primarily wanted to challenge the "separate but equal" doctrine established by *Plessy*. It was important to demonstrate that segregation should be challenged in a variety of settings throughout the nation, not just in the former Confederacy. The Court heard the *Brown* arguments but sent the case back to the Ink Fund with a number of detailed questions that it wanted to be addressed.

One of these questions related to the original intent of the Fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, ratified in 1868, which provided for equal protection under the law. The justices wanted to know if the Congress and the states

assumed that racial segregation was the norm for American society, or if the original intent of the amendment was, among other things, to prevent segregation in the United States.

The Ink Fund lawyers decided that they needed social scientists, especially historians, to research the question. They wanted the scholars to analyze congressional and state debates before and after the passage and ratification of the Fourteenth amendment to see if the states made statements relating to racial segregation in schools or any other institution. One member of the committee of scholars recruited by the Ink Fund was John Hope Franklin, a Harvard Ph.D., who was an expert on the Reconstruction era of United States history. Franklin, an African-American professor at Howard University, agreed to be a part of the team addressing the questions raised by the justices.

This was not Franklin's first assignment from the Ink Fund. In 1948 Thurgood Marshall and attorney James Nabrit, Jr. invited him to serve as an expert witness in *Lyman Johnson v University of Kentucky*. Johnson, an African-American, wanted to pursue a graduate education in the field of history at the University of Kentucky but was denied admission and told to attend Kentucky State College for Negroes. Franklin's task was to compare the history programs, faculties, libraries, and facilities at the two institutions to show that those at Kentucky State were not equal to those at the University of Kentucky. Franklin prepared the necessary materials and was eager to testify. However, before Franklin had a chance to present his testimony and deposition, the judge at Marshall's urging ordered the university to admit Johnson.

Five years later the Ink Fund sought Franklin out again to help them with the necessary research on the Fourteenth amendment. He readily agreed to help. Franklin traveled to the Ink Fund offices in New York City every week between September and December 1953 to help with the research and to write a position paper. Other scholars came from a variety of institutions including Lincoln University of Pennsylvania, Wayne State College, and Johns Hopkins University. After months of

hard work, Franklin was gratified when Marshall remarked that the position paper sounded like a lawyer's brief. Franklin later related that he "deliberately transformed the objective data provided by historical research into an urgent plea for justice . . ."

Thurgood Marshall reargued the *Brown* case in early 1954. The Ink Fund submitted the reports by the Clarks and the committee of scholars as well as other evidence requested by the Supreme Court justices. After hearing the case a second time, the justices unanimously agreed that racially separate schools were inherently unequal. In Chief Justice Earl Warren's opinion, the Clarks' report and its acceptance by other psychologists were factors specifically cited as influencing the Court's decision.

The Clarks, along with Franklin and other scholars, had waged a successful fight to end the injustice of school segregation. Lawyers from the Ink Fund who had employed the successful strategy of testimonies and depositions from expert witnesses had won a major victory. ✨



Dr. Kenneth B. Clark conducting the "Doll test." Courtesy, Library of Congress.

Working Toward Equality in a “Separate but Equal” World: The Julius Rosenwald Program in Prince George’s County

BY SUSAN G. PEARL

Formal education for African-American children received its tentative start in Prince George’s County between 1865 and 1872, when the Freedmen’s Bureau established schools. Contributions in labor and supplies from the communities which grew up around the schools and assistance from private charities supported these schools. The Freedmen’s Bureau school buildings often served also as a place of worship for the local black community. The school/church building became a focal point around which the community grew. This often led to the building of a separate church building as soon as the community could afford it, and then, sometimes, to the building of a benevolent society lodge and the other essentials of a functioning community. When the Freedmen’s Bureau ceased activity in 1872, the Prince George’s County Board of School Commissioners (now the Board of Education) assumed responsibility for the operation of these schools.

Over a quarter century later, self-made millionaire Julius Rosenwald (1862-1932) established a fund to support the education of African-American children throughout the southern states. Rosenwald became president of Sears, Roebuck and Company in 1909 and brought the company unprecedented financial success. As a philanthropist, Rosenwald took an interest in a wide range of causes — health, colleges, museums, and Jewish charities — but one of his favorite causes was the education of the “Negro.” Inspired both by earlier philanthropic efforts in this cause made by the Peabody Fund, the Rockefeller General Education Board, and the Anna T. Jeanes Fund, and by direct contact with Booker T. Washington, Rosenwald provided partial funding for several elementary schools for black students in 1912 and 1913. By 1917 he had formally established the Rosenwald Fund specifically to produce school buildings — a large-scale project that he believed would make a major contribution to the improvement of education for African-American youth.

The Rosenwald Fund contributed only a fraction of the total cost of the school construction, and the Fund imposed specific requirements. Each school was to be a common effort between state and county authorities, who assumed responsibility for its future maintenance. Each school had to have a contribution from the local white community, often in land donated for the school. Finally, each project required a contribution of labor, materials, and/or cash from the black community, as a demonstration of its desire for the school.

By 1920, the program had grown so large that Rosenwald could no longer run it from his offices in Chicago, so he set up a field office in Nashville under the leadership of S. L. Smith. Almost immediately, Smith established an architectural



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department patterned on the Sears, Roebuck architectural department that produced the wildly popular mail-order houses. The Rosenwald architectural department produced and distributed pamphlets of school plans that were "available on request to black and white schools alike."

The Rosenwald plans standardized window size and placement in order to maximize available light and recommended interior paint color to maximize reflected light. They set a standard for the positions of blackboards and encouraged the installation of an industrial room where practical skills could be taught. They often allowed for a meeting space or auditorium, so that the building could operate throughout the year as a community center. Most plans provided for two classrooms, with a maximum of 45 students per classroom, but it was possible to have partitions creating smaller class spaces.

From its inception until Rosenwald's death in 1932, the Rosenwald Fund contributed to the building of 4,977 new schools for black children in fifteen southern states. These schools often replaced Freedmen's Bureau schools and usually followed Booker T. Washington's philosophy of self-help by emphasizing vocational education for workers in agriculture and industry. Although the fund itself provided only seed money for school construction and required a substantial local commitment, the Rosenwald program improved and increased the number of black schools. In Prince George's County, the Rosenwald program helped to build twenty-three. Of these, only nine survive today.

One place where the Rosenwald school does not survive is Chapel Hill in the southern part of the county. The community of Chapel Hill formed in a rural area where black families farmed the land that they had previously worked as slaves. The Freedmen's Bureau established a school there in 1868; following a familiar pattern, it served also as a place of worship before the construction of a Methodist meetinghouse on the adjoining land in 1880. These two buildings — church and school — became the focal point of the Chapel Hill community.

The Freedmen's Bureau school, typical of those built in rural communities, consisted of only one room, but it housed



The 1922 (left) and 1925 (right) Rosenwald schools at Chapel Hill in Prince George's County. Courtesy, Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission.

up to 57 pupils during its first years of operation. After 1872, the schoolhouse, known as "Colored School #2" in the fifth Election District, became part of the public school system.

The Chapel Hill community continued to grow as children of the original families married, built more houses, and started their own families. A benevolent society built a lodge in 1922, offering both

emergency support for members and a gathering place for community events. Most of the families continued to farm the land and market their produce in Washington. Others worked in District and federal government offices and commuted to Washington daily.

By 1922, the school was showing signs of age. Rosenwald funds partially supported the construction of a new school building immediately west of the fifty-four year old schoolhouse. It used the same plan as two other county schoolhouses built in the same year. Classes for the first through third grade students continued to be held in the older building, while fourth through seventh grades had their classes in the new building. The 1924 survey of "Colored Public Schools" positively reported on the new Rosenwald building, but stated that "the other . . . in which 35 primary children are penned . . . is an ancient left-over that ought to have been torn down."

In 1925, the Rosenwald Fund again supported the building of a new classroom building in Chapel Hill. The old Freedmen's Bureau structure was moved on logs to the adjoining church property, where classes continued to be held while a new structure was built in its place. The new building became the classroom for the first through third grades, and a small hyphen that housed the water tank for the school connected the new building to the 1922 building.

The joined schoolhouses were closed in the early 1950s, before the *Brown v Board of Education* decision, but they continued to be used as a community center for twenty more years. The buildings were destroyed in the 1970s, and their location is now an open grassy area bordered by woods and dominated by two large old trees. The Chapel Hill community is a typical story of the community development around the

Freedmen's Bureau and Rosenwald schools.

While the schools no longer stand, the community continues to have a strong oral history tradition and is still home to many descendants of its original families. The loss of the Rosenwald school here provided part of the incentive for Prince George's County to recognize and preserve some of the surviving schoolhouses.

Although historians know the location and the facts about many of the twelve Freedmen's Bureau schools in the County, not one has survived. The Rosenwald schools that survive are currently used for a variety of purposes: a dwelling, a used car sales office, a small apartment house, a kitchen-crafts shop, an American Legion Post, a church, a public school bus dispatch depot, and two of the more substantial examples are still in use as schools.

The Ridgley School, "Colored" School #1 in the thirteenth Election District, was built in 1927. Before that time, classes for elementary students had been held in the Lodge, or "Society Hall," which stood immediately to the east. Across the street was the Methodist church, named the Ridgley Church after the family of its principal trustee. By the 1890s a small community had developed in this area; its focal points were Ridgley Church, the Lodge, and, later, the adjoining schoolhouse.

The 1924 survey of Colored Public Schools indicated that there were 42 elementary schools for black children in Prince George's County, and it noted that a new Rosenwald school was scheduled for construction at Ridgley. In 1927, the Board of Education purchased two acres of land from the Ridgley family, and the architectural firm of Linthicum and Linthicum designed a two-room schoolhouse similar to two other schools built in that year. The Ridgley School that opened in 1927 was a prototype for the black elementary schools constructed in the late 1920s. It had two large classrooms, each of which served at least three grade levels; a central passage; and an entrance-way flanked by two cloakrooms.

During the early 1950s, the Ridgley School served as a Special Education Center, but since the late 1960s, it has

served as the bus management office for the County's schools. Although the building has been altered for its current use, it still exhibits many of the prototypical features of the Rosenwald schoolhouses, and ironically is probably the closest to original condition of the primary schools built in Prince George's County under the Rosenwald program.

The Rosenwald program also provided for the building of high schools, such as the Lakeland and Highland Park Schools.

While they were built only a few years after the Chapel Hill and Ridgley Schools and were designed by the same architectural firm as Ridgley, these high schools differ greatly from Ridgley in size, material, purpose and locale. The Lakeland and Highland Park Schools are large and substantial brick structures; each was built in a developing suburb, and each was intended to provide education through the high school grades.

Prince George's County established the first high school for black students in Upper Marlboro in 1921; before that, African-American students who aspired to complete a high school education had to travel into Washington. Since the Upper Marlboro High School primarily served the students of the southern part of the county, the African-American population brought pressure to extend the same opportunity to other areas. By 1927, the Linthicum and Linthicum firm designed two more high schools for black students — one in Lakeland to serve students from the northwestern part of the county and the other in Highland Park to serve those from the north central area.

These buildings were built on the same plan. Each school had six large classrooms (each with a cloak room), a library, an office, girls' and boys' bathrooms, and a utility room. Each was a large hip-roof building with arched entrance framed by a projecting frontispiece surmounted by a shaped parapet — the parapets of the two schools are slightly different in decoration, but both are distinguished by the use of stone for the parapet caps, the keystones, and decorative plaques. Both schools opened in the fall of 1928.



Exterior of the Ridgley School building today. *Courtesy, Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission.*

During the early 1950s, the Ridgley School served as a Special Education Center, but since the late 1960s, it has served as the bus management office for the County's schools. Although the building has been altered for its current use, it still exhibits many of the prototypical features of the Rosenwald schoolhouses, and ironically is probably the closest to original condition of the primary schools built in Prince George's County under the Rosenwald program.



The interior of the Ridgely School in the 1940s. *Courtesy, Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission.*

Over the 75 years of their existence, these two structures have had varying uses — serving as junior high schools after the county built larger high schools — and then after school desegregation as elementary schools or Head Start Centers. Lakeland School is currently a Korean Catholic Mission Church.

The Highland Park School underwent a series of major additions, so that the original building now constitutes the northernmost wing of a larger building complex. As the original old building aged and deteriorated, the school board considered demolishing it. However, the county's Preservation Ordinance and an aroused local constituency stressed the need to preserve the building because of its historic and architectural significance. Today it has been thoroughly rehabilitated and is a neighborhood elementary school. The integration of this Rosenwald school into the fabric of the community is demonstrated by a local resident who attended Highland Park School as a student, later taught there, sent his children and grandchildren there, and was the prime mover in the successful effort to preserve the building.

The Rosenwald Fund had a profound effect on black education in Prince George's County and throughout the southern states. In spite of its financial limitations, the

program did much to improve black schools, providing incentives to local black communities which invariably led to further improvements. While only nine of the twenty-three original structures survive, Prince George's County has recognized the significance of these schools and this movement by supporting a program to fully document, recognize, and preserve these important parts of our past. ✨



Lakeland School in College Park. *Courtesy, Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission.*

Learning the Language of Rights: White Working-Class Baltimore and Some Unexpected Consequences of the *Brown* Decision

BY KENNETH DURR

In the fall of 1954, impelled by the Supreme Court's *Brown v Board of Education* decision, white working-class Baltimoreans took to the streets in protest of what they believed to be an unfair and "undemocratic" intervention in their neighborhood schools. Racism lay close to the heart of this reaction, but there was much more involved with implications too easily overlooked. The *Brown* decision dealt a decisive blow to the perception that in America, it was the majority — a broad middle spectrum of citizens with its interests represented by its votes — that framed the social and cultural dimensions of society and politics. In 1954 white working-class Baltimoreans began to understand that there were structures in society inimical to their interests and over which they had little or no control.

In 1954 some of the protestors' signs read "we want our rights" but others claimed "segregation is our heritage." It was "white rights" they were fighting for — the right to exclude. A photograph taken in 1974 is uncanny in its similarity, but the situation and the messages were quite different. During Baltimore's busing controversy, white working people fought not to exclude, but for the right to keep their children in neighborhood schools. They invoked the right of "working people" not to suffer by the designs of experts and planners, however well-intentioned.

During the intervening twenty years, white working-class Baltimoreans learned a great deal. They adopted a new language of rights, claiming not prerogatives of "white people" but the rights of "working people" in the American political debate. But even while devising their own platform on which to engage in what is now called "identity politics," they learned to distrust the system that seemed to require it and again take up the search for what historian Arthur Schlesinger has dubbed the "vital center."

Key to understanding this change is the historic and deep middle-American belief in the virtues of simple majority rule, or "plain folk democracy." Always more apparent than real, the idea has nevertheless long been extremely powerful in American political culture. From the "free gift of the ballot" in the Jacksonian era through the referendum and recall of the Progressive era, more, rather than less, voting has always appeared to be the solution to the nation's problems. This belief helped raise voter turnout to record levels in the late 1800s when, incredibly, 90 percent of Baltimore's registered voters participated in the 1895 *local and state* elections.



Kenneth Durr is senior historian and Director of the History Division at History Associates Incorporated in Rockville, a full-service historical consulting firm. His book *Behind the Backlash: White Working-Class Politics in Baltimore, 1940-1980*, was published in 2003. Dr. Durr earned a bachelor's degree in American studies at Kent State University and holds master's and doctoral degrees in twentieth-century American political and social history from American University.

To the urban white working class, the New Deal administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt marked the apogee of plain folk democracy. Well-to-do Americans might have seen New Deal agencies as exercising arbitrary executive power, but working people understood the New Deal experiment to be sanctioned by the elections of 1932 and 1936. By the end of World War II, blue-collar urbanites were convinced that their votes had fashioned a Democratic order committed to the interests of America's working-class majority. Emblematic of this was the 1947 election of Thomas "Tommy" D'Alesandro, Jr. to the mayor's office with an overwhelming white working-class vote. For a time, the tide seemed to be behind D'Alesandro's constituents. Industrial work was plentiful, and urban white working-class neighborhoods — centered around community groups, churches, and neighborhood schools — thrived.

But for all its merits, New Deal Democracy avoided, rather than dealt with, the perplexing issue of race. While the postwar political order ostensibly championed the rights of all working Americans, in "Jim Crow" Baltimore's public institutions, neighborhoods, and schools, blacks were either excluded outright or given short shrift.

The city's black population boomed during and after World War II, but racial barriers kept African Americans crowded in the inner city. In accordance with the doctrine of "separate but equal," Baltimore had its own system of schools for black children which, by the early 1950s, had deteriorated to crisis levels.

Baltimore was the first major city in the southern and border states to integrate its schools. If whites had earlier learned to work with blacks, they had not learned to live with them and the move appeared to threaten the key institution of the white working-class — the neighborhood. In the fall of 1954, protest began in the southwest Baltimore neighborhood known as "Pigtown" where mothers picketed an elementary

school. Demonstrations soon engulfed Southern High School and much of south Baltimore.

These protesters used familiar terms. Although they were disturbed by the ability of the Supreme Court to undermine — in their minds, at least — the urban neighborhood, south Baltimoreans staked their claims on a familiar language of white rights and southern segregationism. These claims continued to resonate through the mid-1950s as politicians such as H. C. "Curley" Byrd curried favor with blue-collar Baltimore by claiming to back "separate but equal" in his run for the governorship against liberal Theodore McKeldin. Byrd lost the election, but he won white working-class Baltimore.

While perhaps a comfortingly familiar language to border

state working whites, subsequent events proved that southern segregationist arguments were hardly descriptive of the challenges faced by blue collar neighborhoods. Beginning in the mid-1950s callous and opportunistic "blockbusters" turned white neighborhoods to black by exploiting the hopes of blacks and the fears of whites equally for economic gain. Afterward, neighborhoods often deteriorated as too many blacks, overstretched by the high costs of this badly needed housing, were forced to let their



Parents of students bused to Harlem Park School picket outside Robert Poole Junior High School, 1974. Courtesy, Special Collections of the University of Maryland Libraries.

subdivided, overcrowded houses deteriorate. No one approved of blockbusting, but inexplicably, elected leaders claimed that there was little they could do about it. The growing realization that it was not blacks, but unresponsive politicians, arrogant intellectuals, and overweening activists who were undermining white working-class Baltimore was bolstered by a 1963 case involving Baltimore atheist Madalyn Murray; in *Murray v Curlett*, the Supreme Court held school prayer to be unconstitutional.

Most instructive to working whites was the inevitable response to their protests from well-born, well-educated — and, most importantly, suburban — liberals. In the wake of the school protests, one intellectual claimed that working



Protesters from School No. 83 in front of School Board headquarters on 25th Street, 1974. *Courtesy, Special Collections of the University of Maryland Libraries.*

Baltimoreans were not “sincerely interested in the welfare of children, including their own.” Madalyn Murray arrogantly intoned that “row houses breed row minds.” In May 1964 Baltimore’s working whites overwhelmingly supported presidential primary candidate George Wallace, who mixed veiled race-resentment with broader appeals to plain folk democracy and the wisdom of the white working-class. That they were influenced, but not motivated, by race resentment is evident in that in November Baltimore’s working whites voted their hopes — not their fears — for Lyndon B. Johnson and the Great Society.

Through the 1960s Baltimore’s working whites clung to the idea that the Democratic party retained its New Deal roots and was the “party of the working man,” even as it became increasingly clear that the ideas and programs espoused by Great Society reformers numbered among the greatest

threats to the working-class city. On a multiplying number of fronts, those with big ideas and little real stake in Baltimore’s neighborhoods seemed bent on undermining white working-class life.

Most notable of these new threats was the fight over “the road.” During the 1960s and 1970s working Baltimoreans — both black and white — fought to stop the construction of a network of expressways through Baltimore’s residential neighborhoods, projects fueled with federal funds and backed by city officials excited about economic development. In blue-collar southeast Baltimore the fight spawned an unusual brand of urban politics based on grassroots mobilization. In their direct action tactics white working people adopted the methods of the Civil Rights movement. In Baltimore as nationwide, they also imitated the style of “black power,” cultivating “the new ethnicity” as a means of gaining and

wielding political power. None was as adept as a local social worker, now senator, named Barbara Mikulski. “She made Polish as beautiful as black,” claimed one city councilman.

It was under these changed circumstances that working-class Baltimore again confronted school desegregation. During the 1960s, as whites left the city, Baltimore’s schools became resegregated along with its neighborhoods. For liberal policymakers everywhere it was now clear that open enrollment was no longer enough. Well-intentioned but overconfident planners became convinced that the solution lay in busing.

Urban parents resented being subjected to these ultimately unsuccessful attempts at what they called “social engineering.” They also keenly realized that it was urbanites rather than suburbanites who were being expected to atone for the nation’s racial transgressions; in 1974 the Supreme Court’s *Milliken v Bradley* decision specifically exempted suburbs from urban busing plans. Mobilizing around the same institutions created by the fight over the road, white working-class Baltimoreans now fought not to keep black students out, but to keep their own children in neighborhood schools. The broad opposition to busing coupled with the government’s retreat from enforcing such plans demonstrated, perhaps, the wisdom as well as the legitimacy of white working-class protest twenty years on.

In many respects, the “rights revolution” touched off by the *Brown* decision and the Civil Rights movement was a

monumental force for good in American society. Members of groups of all kinds — gay, immigrant, and religious, as well as racial — benefit from the kinds of protections and safeguards pioneered in *Brown* and later extended by Supreme Court. And it was no fault of the architects of *Brown* that for a host of reasons ranging from white opposition to black nationalism, the principle of integration — that all Americans deserved entry into a broad American polity — gave way to identity politics centered around competition among groups for recognition and resources in the political arena and in the courts.

Working whites were among the first to understand the effects of this fragmentation of American political culture. Gloria Aull, a leader in the fight against the road, confessed that the need to “rattle chains” had been unsettling. “It kind of changes everybody’s vision of the American dream, of democracy and everybody being equal and everybody having a fair share and being able to be heard,” she said.

Indeed, in the twenty years after the *Brown* decision, white working-class voters seldom again resorted to direct action and interest group politics. Instead, they followed two divergent paths through the politics of late twentieth century America. One course has become disturbingly prevalent. A rising proportion of nonvoters has given up on politics entirely, convinced that in the ears of politicians, the cries of “interest groups” (and, as always, the wealthy remain the most interested of all) will inevitably drown out the voice of middle America.

No less frustrating to “true believers” on the left and the right is the expanding group of working and middle-class American voters who pursue a perplexing pilgrimage between the parties, following a route from Ronald Reagan to Bill Clinton to George W. Bush. In this light, America’s current political polarization (which in reality is a dead heat run for the center by two groups beginning from differing premises) may be an attempt — however fruitless — to regain the broad consensual political order that was cracked open by the *Brown* decision and shattered by the rights revolution that followed. It was a revolution in which working-class whites had, in fact, taken part. ✱



Trouble at School No. 34, Washington Boulevard and Carey Street, 1954. Courtesy, Special Collections of the University of Maryland Libraries.

Brown at 50: The Tortuous Journey to Justice

BY LENNEAL J. HENDERSON, JR.

In his stimulating book on *Brown v the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, Waldo Martin indicates that “arguably, the most important Supreme Court ruling in United States history, the *Brown* decision in 1954 not only overturned the doctrine of separate but equal schools as unconstitutional, but it also put other forms of anti-black discrimination on the road to extinction.” The unanimous decision of the Court reversed its 1896 decision in *Plessy v Ferguson* affirming the concept of and practice of “separate but equal” accommodations and institutions for blacks and whites.

The *Brown* decision was the culmination of many widespread and tortuous struggles waged by blacks and their supporters over many decades, much blood, tears, insults, and terror. The legal battles fought by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) represent but one of several crucial fronts upon which the battle to eliminate segregation was fought. Churches fought over the spiritual and ethical implications of segregation. Civil Rights organizations declared war on segregation to eliminate its social and economic casualties. Even scholars and activists from around the world decried “the American dilemma.” The Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal published *An American Dilemma* in 1944, graphically depicting the conditions of African Americans under the tyranny of segregation. Mahatma Gandhi spoke ceaselessly of the contradiction of American segregation. And, in countless homes, communities and institutions everywhere in the United States, the experience of segregation in the human heart and mind often wounded souls, warped minds, and destroyed futures.

The *Brown* decision was a historic and defining moment. Following the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 and the end of the Civil War in 1865, the “Radical Republicans” in Congress, led by Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Representative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, maneuvered the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1866. This Act became the basis of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution. Republicans registered thousands of former slaves in the eleven states of the Old Confederacy. As a result, from 1870 to 1901, twenty-two African Americans were elected to Congress — all Republicans and all from the South.

Congress passed another Civil Rights Act in 1875 to eliminate discrimination in public accommodations such as inns, theaters, railroads, and steamships. But this statute was invalidated by the Supreme Court in the *Civil Rights Cases* of 1883. More than a decade later, the momentous case of *Plessy v Ferguson* validated laws institutionalizing racial segregation, known as “Jim Crow” laws. Plessy’s case was one of many challenges by blacks to “Jim Crow” segregationist laws. But, aside from Justice John Marshall Harlan’s stirring and eloquent dissent, the Court nailed Jim Crow into the woodwork of American law.



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The United States would not have another Civil Rights Act until 1957 as Southerners kept a tight rein on key Congressional Committees up to and beyond World War II. The advocacy of A. Phillip Randolph, founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, did persuade President Franklin D. Roosevelt to issue Executive Order 8802 in 1941, banning racial discrimination in defense-related industries. But, Congress opposed any statutory solution to “Jim Crow.”

This legislative inaction left the courts as the major avenue of redress. Legal cases brought by the NAACP began in the 1930s in such places as Clarendon County, South Carolina. Segregated schools in this county clearly demonstrated that separate was indeed unequal as school buildings (often shanties), facilities, and equipment for blacks were clearly inferior to those for whites. In fact, the Clarendon County case was precipitated by the lack of buses for black children. Most children walked up to ten miles to and from school each day. The attempt to address this inequality led to the case of *Briggs v Elliott*, one of five cases that the Supreme Court made part of the *Brown* decision. The other cases included *Davis v County School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia*, *Belton v Gebhart* from Delaware, and *Bolling v Sharpe* in the District of Columbia. These cases were consolidated under the rubric of *Brown*. Consequently, the Supreme Court ruled on five cases of school segregation that momentous day in May 1954.

Brown was a major watershed in race relations. The Supreme Court departed from the Jim Crow principles of *Plessy* to declare that “separate is inherently unequal.” It is also interesting that Earl Warren, the new Chief Justice and former Governor of California, symbolized the progressivism of the West seeking to transform the *status quo* of the East and South. What a metaphor at this momentous time.

Although *Brown* is characterized as a “race relations” decision, it was and has become far more. Three larger



Hurlock, Maryland elementary school. Courtesy, Library of Congress.

implications of *Brown* are noteworthy. First, *Brown* was an affirmation of the separation of powers principle in our Constitution. The Supreme Court in effect said to the Congress and the President, if you don't act, we will. Ironically, President Truman had issued two Executive Orders desegregating the armed forces before *Brown*, but they did little to challenge school segregation. Congress would follow *Brown* with the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, 1964, and 1968 but it was following the Court's lead rather than leading the nation's racial policy changes.

Second, *Brown* was a statement about American

federalism, the subdivision of legal and political authority among the federal, state, and local governments. The five cases comprising *Brown* were all brought against local governments. Because the ultimate constitutional responsibility for the establishment and management of local governments lies with the state government, *state and local governments* were affected by the *Brown* decision. The “States' rights” echo from the Civil War era would again become the rallying call of many governors and Southern leaders opposing *Brown* and other desegregation imperatives. The Court established in *Brown* that it had the ultimate responsibility to protect the constitutional rights of United States citizens, regardless of race or location.

Finally, *Brown* is an eloquent and shrill statement about the aspirations of American democracy. Heeding Thomas Jefferson's admonition that a democracy is less likely without educated citizens, the Supreme Court emphasized the centrality of education to the social, political and economic opportunities of black public school children. The doctrine of separate but equal has no place because democracy mandates that equality is not possible in a democratic society if citizens are separated by any particular such as race or location.

Consequently, *Brown* stands as a tribute not only to civil rights and race relations but also to an affirmation of public policy theory in America. Separation of powers, federalism,

and democracy must all flourish if race relations are successful and successful race relations nourish American democracy.

As momentous and profound as *Brown* was, it left a legacy of mixed results in race relations, separation of powers, federalism, and democracy. Subsequent cases such as *Green v County Schools of New Kent County* in 1968, *Alexander v Holmes County Board of Education* in 1969, and *Swann v Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* in 1971 would require the Supreme Court to specify in detail remedies and criteria for desegregating schools.

The suburbanization of America, particularly pronounced since *Brown*, has changed the dynamics of segregation. Not only are we battling neighborhood or rural segregation but we also struggle with *metropolitan segregation* as central cities and inner-ring suburbs become predominantly non-white



George E. C. Hayes, Thurgood Marshall, and James M. Nabrit on the steps of the Supreme Court following the *Brown* decision in 1954. Courtesy, Library of Congress.

and suburbs continue to be largely white. Indeed, 84% of our 289 million citizens live in metropolitan areas and, as of the 2000 census, more than half live in suburbs.

Another key challenge following *Brown* is the funding of public schools. Separate but equal was as much a financial arrangement as a racial arrangement. Beginning with the California Supreme Court case of *Serrano v Priest* in 1971, many cases have challenged the use of local property taxes to finance public schools, including the Supreme Court decision in 1983 of *Rodriguez v the San Antonio Independent School District*. These challenges continue as schools in predominantly non-white school districts,

cities, and counties generate less tax base per pupil than their suburban counterparts. *

So, the legacy of *Brown* gives both reasons to celebrate and reasons to become more resolute. Segregation continues to challenge us but more in institutional forms and practices than in the law. Desegregation will require a reaffirmation of our democratic principles as manifested in the way we reconfigure our federal system and engage our separation of powers at the national level. And the issue still is: *What is the recipe for true democracy?*

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The Maryland Humanities Council is an educational nonprofit organization that is affiliated with the National Endowment for the Humanities. The purpose of the Council is to create and disseminate programs that broaden an individual's understanding and appreciation of our common—and diverse—heritage, traditions, and culture; promote constructive and meaningful projects on the value and role of the Humanities to better our personal, civic, and professional lives; and engage citizens and the academic and cultural communities in statewide dialogues designed to enhance our quality of life. It fulfills this mission through a variety of statewide programs:

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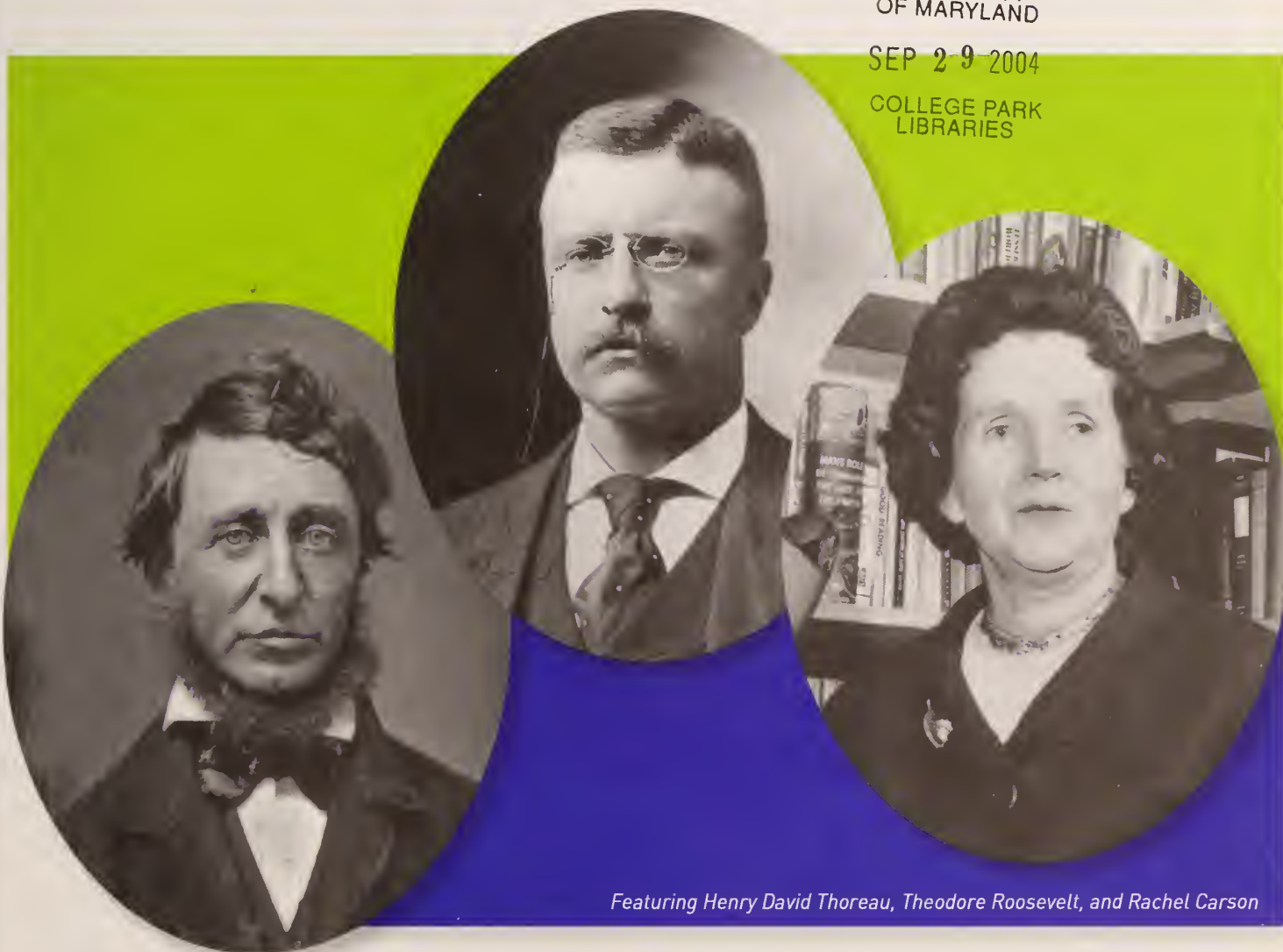
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TO OUR TENTH ANNUAL CHAUTAUQUA!

Chatauqua (shuh-taw-kwa) takes its name from a lake in upstate New York, beginning in 1874 as a training course for Sunday School teachers. In 1878 the Chatauqua movement expanded its philosophy of adult education to include an appreciation for the arts and humanities. By 1904, Chatauqua took to the road as part of the Lyceum movement, bringing lectures and entertainers to towns across America. By 1930, radio, movies, and automobiles had made Chatauqua largely a thing of the past.

Reborn as a public humanities program in 1976, today's Chatauquas feature scholars who take on the persona of celebrated historical figures, educating and entertaining audiences as they bring the past to life again. Families gather for our Chatauqua under starry skies in a big open tent.

Chatauqua 2004 *The American Environment: Voices and Choices* features appearances by Rachel Carson, Theodore Roosevelt, and Henry David Thoreau. It will be a memorable week of free programs under the big top at Cecil Community College, Chesapeake College, the College of Southern Maryland, the Community College of Baltimore County, Garrett College, and Montgomery College—Germantown.

We also wish to thank Lockheed Martin, Constellation Energy, Columbia Gas of Maryland, the Choice Hotels International Foundation, the Maryland Division of Historical and Cultural Programs, and the National Endowment for the Humanities for their generous support for this project.

Peggy Burke
Executive Director

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Exploring the HUMAN Experience

Inside MD HUMANITIES

The American Environment – Voices & Choices

1. Events at Garrett College
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7. Introduction, *Three Natural Lives, 1817-1964*
8. Henry David Thoreau: Pioneering Ecologist, Environmentalist Prophet
– KEVIN RADAKER
12. Saving Our Masterpieces: Theodore Roosevelt – DOUG A. MISHLER
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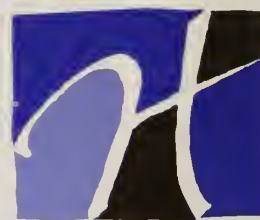
On the Cover:

Photos of Henry David Thoreau, Rachel Carson and Theodore Roosevelt.
Courtesy, Library of Congress. All caricatures by Tom Chalkley, Baltimore, Maryland.

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Christine D. Sarbanes
Baltimore City

Martin E. Sullivan
St. Mary's County

Winston Tabb
Baltimore City

Gary K. Vikan
Baltimore City

Steven G. Ziger
Baltimore City

H. Margret Zassenhaus,
MD (Emerita)
Baltimore County



Garrett College

July 5, 6 & 7

Sunday, July 4	7:30pm	Independence Day Concert by the Garrett Community Concert Band, followed by fireworks from the mountaintop at Wisp
Monday, July 5	7:00pm	Fiddle Music by Ellinor Benedict <i>An Evening with Henry David Thoreau,</i> by Kevin Radaker
Tuesday, July 6	7:00pm	Old Time Country Music by J.C. and the Boys <i>An Evening with Rachel Carson,</i> by Doris Dwyer
Wednesday, July 7	7:00pm	Banjo Music by Abe Folmsbee <i>An Evening with Theodore Roosevelt,</i> by Doug Mishler
Thursday, July 8	7:00pm	Folk Music by Keith Roberts Garrett County Voices: Meshach Browning by Steve Schlosnagle; John Garrett by Al Feldstein; Coal Stories by John Grant

Garrett College is proud to serve as a host for the tenth year of the Maryland Humanities Council's annual Chautauqua. The four evenings of Chautauqua will be preceded by a concert with the Garrett Community Concert Band on Sunday July 4.

The Chautauqua program is a collaboration among Garrett College, Garrett Lakes Arts Festival, and the Garrett County Arts Council. Because of its location in a rural, resort environment, Garrett College integrates the natural resources with the academic curriculum. Signature programs include Adventure Sports, Agricultural Management, and Natural Resources and Wildlife Technology. Garrett Lakes Arts Festival is based at the college. It is the largest presenter of performing arts in Garrett County, offering diverse cultural and artistic performances and arts education opportunities from March through November. The Garrett County Arts Council is located in Oakland where it operates a community art gallery. The Arts Council offers funding for nonprofit organizations involved in integrating the cultural arts into the life of the community.

Dr. Stephen J. Herman, President
Ms. Elizabeth Johnson, GLAF
Executive Director
Mr. Stephen Schlosnagle, GCAC
Executive Director

All sites are handicapped accessible. If you need sign language interpretation, please call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650. All evening Chautauqua programs will take place under the Chautauqua tent; in the event of rain, they will take place in the Garrett College Auditorium.

Directions to Garrett College: Take exit 14A off I-68. Follow 219 South to McHenry and turn left at Mosser Road. For Garrett College information, call Garrett Lakes Arts Festival at 301-387-3082. For further information about the Chautauqua, call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650.

College of Southern Maryland

July 5, 6 & 8



The College of Southern Maryland welcomes you and your family to our La Plata Campus for Chautauqua 2004. CSM is a regional community college serving Charles, Calvert, and St. Mary's counties. Our outstanding faculty and staff are committed to identifying and meeting the demands of our local and global learners by offering a mix of courses — including Web-based courses and telecourses — and a wide range of associate degree programs, certificates, letters of recognition, and continuing education courses.

In addition to its academic excellence, CSM has a long history of support of the humanities. The Southern Maryland Studies Center has served the community for more than twenty years as an archive of local history and a vital source for family and scholarly research. Most recently, a collaboration with Jefferson-Patterson Park and the Banneker-Douglass Museum resulted in preservation of the history and artifacts of the African-American schools in the region.

We hope you enjoy all of our cultural programs and offerings at the college and look forward to seeing you again as you explore all of the possibilities that learning for life has to offer at the College of Southern Maryland.

Dr. Elaine Ryan, President

Monday, July 5	7:00pm	Selected Songs by the College of Southern Maryland Theatre Company An Evening with Theodore Roosevelt, by Doug Mishler Maurice J. McDonough High School, Pomfret (July 5 only)
Tuesday, July 6	7:00pm	Period Music by David and Ginger Hildebrand An Evening with Henry David Thoreau, by Kevin Radaker
Wednesday, July 7	7:00pm	Contemporary Music by Eric Scott Living History Portrayal of Father Andrew White, by Wes Stone
Thursday, July 8	7:00pm	Sing Along with Jim Watson An Evening with Rachel Carson, by Doris Dwyer

All sites are handicapped accessible. If you need sign language interpretation, please call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650 or the CSM Learning Assistance Center at 1-800-933-9177. The July 5 Chautauqua will take place at Maurice J. McDonough High School auditorium, Pomfret. All other evening Chautauqua programs will take place under the Chautauqua tent at the College of Southern Maryland, La Plata; in the event of rain, they will be held in the Fine Arts Center Theatre. Bring a picnic (no alcoholic beverages permitted) and a blanket. Seating in chairs also available. College Store and Ice Cream Corner open until 8:00pm.

Directions to Maurice J. McDonough High School, 7165 Marshall Corner Road: From Route 301 turn right onto Route 227 and follow straight on Marshall Corner Road. The school is on the left. For McDonough High School information, call 301-934-2944.

Directions to the College of Southern Maryland: From the intersection of Route 5 and Route 301, travel south on Route 301 approximately six miles to the traffic light at Mitchell Road. Turn right on Mitchell Road, and proceed approximately two miles to the main entrance of the college. For College of Southern Maryland information, call 301-934-7766. For further information about the Chautauqua, call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650.



Chesapeake College

July 5, 6 & 7

Monday, July 5	7:00pm	Songs of the Chesapeake Bay by the Royal Oak Musicians An Evening with Rachel Carson, by Doris Dwyer
Tuesday, July 6	7:00pm	All That Jazz with Denise Carlson An Evening with Theodore Roosevelt, by Doug Mishler
Wednesday, July 7	7:00pm	Contemporary Classics by Andy Gibson An Evening with Henry David Thoreau, by Kevin Radaker

Chesapeake College is delighted to host the Maryland Humanities Council's Chautauqua. As part of our mission, the college seeks to preserve the rich cultural heritage of the Chesapeake Bay Region and environment. The college houses an extensive collection of documents and artifacts relating to the region, and the Chesapeake College Press publishes occasional works about the Eastern Shore.

Founded in 1965, Chesapeake College serves the large, five-county area of the Upper Eastern Shore. It offers a full range of career and transfer programs, non-credit classes, and customized training. Each year more than 15,000 area residents enroll in courses at the college's three sites at Wye Mills, Easton, and Cambridge; in many off-campus locations; and through the Internet. With the opening of the Center for Business and the Arts, the Wye Mills campus has become the region's economic and cultural center, and the college now hosts the Eastern Shore Higher Education Center offering upper division and graduate level programs through a consortium of colleges and universities on the Shore.

As we actively engage in planning for the region's exciting future, it is a wonderful time to examine Maryland's past. We hope you enjoy Chautauqua 2004 and leave our campus with a greater appreciation of our State's and the Shore's rich history.

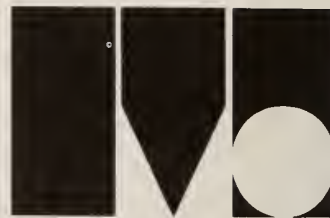
Dr. Stuart M. Bounds, President

All sites are handicapped accessible. If you need sign language interpretation, please call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650. All evening Chautauqua programs will take place in the Cadby Theatre in the Kent Humanities Building.

Directions to Chesapeake College: Chesapeake College is located at the intersection of U.S. 50 and U.S. 213 on Maryland's Eastern Shore, 14 miles east of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge. For Chesapeake College information, call 410-827-5867. For more information about the Chautauqua, call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650.

Montgomery College— Germantown

July 7, 8 & 9



We are delighted to welcome the friends and neighbors of Montgomery College—Germantown Campus to Chautauqua 2004. As Montgomery County and the Germantown community continue to experience rapid growth, choices concerning the environment are made every day, and this year's Chautauqua program offers speakers who can promote the thoughtful, informed dialog that leads to wise choices.

The Germantown Campus has a role to play in supporting this dialog. The campus has grown from under a thousand students to over five thousand students from over 160 nations. These students are enrolled in programs that either prepare them for transfer to four-year institutions and professional schools or give them the skills they need to succeed in the ever-changing workplace. As we have grown, we have made choices ourselves, always with an eye to protecting the environment as our campus grew. Our range of courses offers numerous opportunities to become informed on topics related to growth and the environment, and we will facilitate discussion through programs such as Chautauqua.

Thank you for joining us to share an exciting program and a pleasant evening.

Dr. Hercules Pinkney, Vice President
and Provost

Tuesday, July 6	7:00pm	Banjo Music and Its Origin by Banjer Dan (Dan Mazer) Scales and Tails by Maryland Natural Resources
Wednesday, July 7	7:00pm	Selections on the Autoharp and History of the Instrument by Judy Moore An Evening with Rachel Carson, by Doris Dwyer
Thursday, July 8	7:00pm	Thoreau Poems Made into Music by Mary Sue Twohy An Evening with Henry David Thoreau, by Kevin Radaker
Friday, July 9	7:00pm	Fiddle Music Selections and the History of Fiddle Music by Liberty Dawn An Evening with Theodore Roosevelt, by Doug Mishler

All sites are handicapped accessible. If you need sign language interpretation, please call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650. All evening Chautauqua programs will take place under the Chautauqua tent; in the event of rain, they will take place in Globe Hall.

Directions to Montgomery College—Germantown: From I-270 take exit 15 East (Route 118). Continue to traffic light at Observation Drive and turn right. For Montgomery College information, call 301-353-7700. For further information about the Chautauqua, call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650.



C E C I L
COMMUNITY
COLLEGE

Cecil Community College

July 9, 10 & 11

- Tuesday, June 24 7:00pm Discussion of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* with Jodi Devine, University of Delaware. *Cecil County Public Library, Elkton. Registration is required.*
- Tuesday, June 29 7:00pm Discussion of Octavia Butler's *Parable of the Sower* with Therese Rizzo, University of Delaware. *Cecil County Public Library, Elkton. Registration is required.*
- Tuesday, July 6 7:00pm Discussion of Theodore Roosevelt: Roughrider to Rushmore (video) with Fred MacDonald, Cecil Community College. *Cecil County Public Library, Elkton. Registration is required.*
- Friday, July 9 7:00pm Music of the Times by The LadyFingers
An Evening with Henry David Thoreau,
by Kevin Radaker
- Saturday, July 10 7:00pm Selected Period Folktales and Stories by Ed Okonowicz
An Evening with Theodore Roosevelt, by Doug Mishler
- Sunday, July 11 7:00pm Guitar Music of the Times by J. Andrew Dickenson
An Evening with Rachel Carson, by Doris Dwyer
- Monday, July 12 7:00pm Historical Skits of Cecil County by the Cecil County Heritage Troupe
An Evening with "The Susquehanna Riverman" by Gil Hirschel

All sites are handicapped accessible. For more information on the Reading/Discussion series, contact the Cecil County Public Library at 410-996-5600. If you need sign language interpretation, please call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650. All evening Chautauqua programs will take place under the Chautauqua tent; in the event of rain, they will take place in the Milburn Stone Memorial Theatre.

Directions to Cecil Community College: From I-95 take exit 100. At end of ramp, turn left onto 272N towards Rising Sun. At first light turn right. For Cecil Community College information, call 410-287-1000. For further information about the Chautauqua, call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650.

Welcome once again to the Maryland Humanities Council's annual Chautauqua! We are so glad that our many friends and neighbors attend and support this incredible event. Everyone at Cecil Community College is pleased to host this fantastic salute to history and tradition. Cecil County is very proud of its own rich history and for the fourth year in a row Chautauqua 2004 allows us to celebrate the importance of ideas, culture and days gone by.

Cecil Community College is Cecil County's only institution of higher education. Primary to our mission is offering opportunities and activities that educate and inform our community. We have enjoyed bringing classes and educational programming for over 35 years to our citizens to help them reach their educational and career goals. Continuing to be Maryland's fastest growing community college, we are constantly evolving to meet the needs of our community. Commitment to student success is a hallmark of Cecil Community College by providing them with the necessary training and education to face the challenges of our modern, global society. By coming to this year's Chautauqua you let us know that you honor the past, engage in the present, and support the future. All of us at Cecil Community College greatly appreciate your attendance.

Dr. W. Stephen Pannill, President

Community College of Baltimore County Catonsville

July 9, 10 & 11



CCBC

The Community College
of Baltimore County

The Community College of Baltimore County (CCBC) is pleased to welcome our friends and neighbors to the Catonsville campus for the 2004 visit by the Chautauqua.

CCBC, the largest community college in the state of Maryland, is a single college, multi-campus institution with campuses in Catonsville, Dundalk, and Essex. As a learning-centered public college, CCBC responds to the education, training, and employment needs of the community by offering a broad array of high quality general education, transfer, and career programs, student support services; and economic and community development activities. The College assures its vision and mission through the successful completion of its plans, and through a positive attitude of empowerment on the part of faculty, administration, staff, and students.

We hope you enjoy Chautauqua 2004!

Dr. Irving Pressley McPhail,
Chancellor

Friday, July 9	7:00pm	Environmentally Evocative Music by William Watson on Vibraphone and David Richardson on Piano An Evening with Rachel Carson, by Doris Dwyer
Saturday, July 10	7:00pm	Period Music by Anita Spicer-Lane, Mezzo-Soprano; Barry Greenberg, Tenor; James Valliant, Tenor & Piano An Evening with Henry David Thoreau, by Kevin Radaker
Sunday, July 11	7:00pm	Period Music for Guitar by James Harrell An Evening with Theodore Roosevelt, by Doug Mishler

All sites are handicapped accessible. If you need sign language interpretation, please call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650. All evening Chautauqua programs will take place under the Chautauqua tent; in the event of rain, they will take place in the Q Theatre.

Directions to CCBC Catonsville: From the Baltimore Beltway (695) take Exit 12, Wilkens Avenue West. Follow Wilkens Avenue West to Valley Road. Turn right on Valley Road and travel to the college entrance. For CCBC Catonsville information, call 410-455-4508. For further information about the Chautauqua, call the Maryland Humanities Council at 410-771-0650.

Three Natural Lives, 1817-1964



HENRY DAVID THOREAU, author of *Walden*, *Civil Disobedience*, and *Cape Cod*, and a fiery champion of abolition, was born in 1817, as America's industrial era was beginning. He died in 1862, in the midst of the Civil War, without witnessing slavery's demise.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, the proponent of "The Strenuous Life" and organizer of the National Parks, was born in 1858, as abolitionists in the struggle against slavery prepared to take up arms at Harper's Ferry. He had lived through two cataclysmic wars and fought in a third, in Cuba, where he made his soldiering reputation. He died in 1919.

RACHEL CARSON, the scientist credited with sparking the modern environmental movement, was just twelve years old in 1919. World War I had ended, and with it the Progressive era. She died in 1964, just as concern about pollution and the environment was becoming widespread.

These three illustrious lives span a century and a half of American naturalism, known variously as "natural philosophy" in Thoreau's time, "conservation" in Roosevelt's, and "environmentalism" in Carson's. Though their lives overlapped, they never met. All three struggled, in ways characteristic of their times, with physical ills that deepened their energetic love of Nature, and through larger wars that they could not ignore. Their activism was that struggle, writ large.

Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), like many New Englanders of his class, suffered from "consumption" (tuberculosis), then considered a "disease of civilization." With no reliable medicinal cure, invalids like Thoreau often resorted to the wilderness. Thoreau argued that human beings stood not apart from Nature, but as a part of it. He died of tuberculosis in 1862. His last letter ended, "I am enjoying existence as much as ever, and regret nothing."

Like Thoreau, Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919) was deeply immersed in the natural world. He struggled early with ill health, and determined to build up his body and mind through strenuous outdoor activity. This determination became the metaphor driving his political philosophy.

When an assassin's bullet nearly killed him while on his second presidential campaign, he mused, "No man has had a happier life than I have led; a happier life in every way."

Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* has been called the most influential book of the past fifty years, being compared to Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*, Thoreau's *Walden*, and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Carson's work on pesticide contamination started with a letter from a friend in Cape Cod, concerning the death of songbirds there resulting from blanket DDT spraying.

Like Thoreau and Roosevelt, Carson suffered from a disease emblematic of her time: breast cancer. Many have noted the possible connection between her death and the environmental pollution of which she so eloquently wrote.

For these three lives, the natural world was an integral part of their existence. In nature, they found motivation, solace, beauty, and wonder. Their love of and respect for nature — and their struggle to preserve it for future generations — inspired them to create literary works that still challenge us today.



Henry David Thoreau: Pioneering Ecologist, Environmental Prophet

BY KEVIN RADAKER

Since the middle of the twentieth century and the advent of environmental history as a field of study, Henry David Thoreau has been increasingly identified as America's first environmentalist prophet. Throughout his writings — but particularly within his voluminous *Journal*, later natural history essays, *The Maine Woods*, and his masterpiece, *Walden* — he was an eloquent voice that has influenced and inspired environmental advocates and writers, including John Muir, Edward Abbey, and Wendell Berry. Informed by an appreciation and reverence for nature, Thoreau's writings urged his readers to consider the wisdom of voluntary simplicity and wilderness preservation. Most of all, they revealed Thoreau to be one of the greatest harbingers of ecology.

Thoreau's growing fame during the twentieth century has led to his recognition as one of America's leading writers and to his emergence as cultural icon. This fame was certainly due in part to the dramatic character of his two-year experiment in living at Walden Pond near Concord, Massachusetts, from July 4, 1845, to September 6, 1847. In the seven years following his residence in Walden woods, Thoreau revised and greatly expanded his initial manuscript about his experiences there to produce *Walden*, the most widely read and highly praised work among his writings.

Hailed by many as the seminal text informing the development of environmental nonfiction in the twentieth century, *Walden* was a multifaceted text that belongs to several genres, including cultural critique. Among the many messages within *Walden* was its encouragement of voluntary simplicity. Thoreau's advocacy of simple lives was in part an anti-materialistic call to reject a consumptive lifestyle tied to the acquisition of money and things. In addition, the self-restraint and meditative discipline that Thoreau espoused led to a philosophy of environmental humility that recognized humanity's kinship with nature as well as the responsibilities growing out of that kinship.

In the same light, Thoreau's thoughts on farming in "The Bean-Field" chapter of *Walden* were an early argument for what is now called sustainable agriculture. His skepticism concerning the value of technological "progress" was prophetic as well, for in considering the inventions that were inundating the market in the 1840s and 1850s, he wondered if they were "but improved means to an unimproved end." He was more concerned with the quality and depth of thoughts than with the speed and efficiency of tools. For instance, the railroad — the great symbol of industrialization and commerce — represented for Thoreau that mechanistic outlook that had assigned his neighbors to a life of unending, routine toil and perceived nature as nothing more than commodities to be bought and sold. "We do not ride upon the railroad," warned Thoreau, "it rides upon us."

Walden was a critique of the materialism and conformity of Thoreau's neighbors

Thoreau argued that human beings stood not apart from Nature, but as a part of it.

I wish to speak a word for Nature, for absolute freedom and wildness, as contrasted with a freedom and culture merely civil — to regard man as an inhabitant, or a part and parcel of Nature, rather than a member of society. I wish to make an extreme statement, . . . for there are enough champions of civilization: the minister and the school committee and every one of you will take care of that.

and a personal declaration of independence from society and its institutions. Most of all, however, it was a search for the absolute reality and spiritual truths to be found within and through the natural world around us. As a Transcendentalist, Thoreau believed in the perfect correspondence between our inner nature and the external world, between the human soul and nature; thus, to contemplate the rhythms and laws of the natural world was to begin to understand the rhythms and laws of our inner beings.

In addition, because Thoreau believed that nature was a materialization of spirit and a physical realization of divinity, *Walden* contained several passages illustrating his conviction that people may come to know themselves and God intuitively through sensuous experiences in nature. In the process, humankind may come to realize its deep kinship with nature as well. The “Solitude” chapter, for instance, began thus: “This is a delicious evening, when the whole body is one sense, and imbibes delight through every pore. I go and come with a strange liberty in Nature, a part of herself.” With such words, he urged us to approach nature with a sense of wonder and awe. Whether listening to the sounds of an owl in the night or following the trail of a fox in the snow, measuring the depths of ice on the pond or studying the hieroglyphic forms of thawing sand and clay on the side of a railroad embankment, Thoreau combined scientific accuracy with mystical insight in order to reveal the “living poetry” animating all of nature.

Though the final decade of Thoreau’s life was dedicated more to ecological inquiry than to preservationist arguments, his aesthetic appreciation and deeply personal love for the nonhuman led to forthright preservationist statements that criticized the commodification of nature as destroying not only living entities but the human soul as well. In the final paragraph of “Chesuncook,” first published serially in 1858 and included posthumously in *The Maine Woods*, Thoreau argued for the establishment of “national preserves” after having observed how even the vast Maine forest had been scarred by logging. “Huckleberries,” which Thoreau wrote as an intended lecture in the fall and winter of 1860–61, called for each town to preserve at least some of its natural beauty by establishing “a primitive forest . . . where a stick should never be cut . . . but stand and decay for higher uses — a common possession forever, for instruction and recreation.”

His essay entitled “Walking,” derived mostly from his *Journal* of 1850–1852, presented his most sustained argument for the value of the untamed wildness — both around us and within us. His enthusiasm for the wild can be found throughout his writings, but it was stated most succinctly in “Walking,” where he boldly proclaimed: “In Wildness is the preser-

vation of the World.” With these eight words, he announces his faith in the redemptive power of the wilderness, and the wildness inherent there. “A town is saved,” he submitted, “not more by the righteous men in it than by the woods and swamps that surround it.” In proclaiming wildness as the source of our vigor, inspiration, and strength, Thoreau provided the ideological underpinnings of contemporary environmentalism and the wilderness preservation movement.

The history of Thoreau’s relationship with nature, as reflected in his life and writings, was a gradual, though irregular, movement from a largely anthropocentric viewpoint to an ecocentric one. In so doing, he departed from the conventionally anthropocentric position of Ralph Waldo Emerson’s 1836 essay “Nature,” that seminal document of American Transcendentalism which essentially denoted nature as the mystical counterpart of the self and, thus, subservient to humanity. Unlike Emerson, Thoreau eventually sought to describe the intrinsic worth of nature and to understand the workings of those ecosystems he had studied in the Concord



Thoreau’s Cove, Walden Pond, Concord, Massachusetts,
Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

area. As one biographer observed, “over the last dozen years of his life, Thoreau made himself into an amateur field biologist of considerable skill: in botany especially, but also in zoology, ornithology, entomology, and ichthyology.” Since the 1940s, with the rise of ecological biology, he has come to be recognized as a pioneering ecologist on the strength of his meticulous studies in limnology and forest succession alone.

Among all of Thoreau’s essay-length writings, “The Succession of Forest Trees” was his most important contribution to conservation, agriculture, and ecological science. Composed by Thoreau shortly before its lecture presentation at the Middlesex Cattle Show in September 1860, “The Succession

Meet Kevin Radaker (Henry David Thoreau)



Kevin Radaker is Professor of English and Chair of the English Department at Anderson University in Anderson, Indiana. Since 1991, he has presented his portrayal of Thoreau over 300 times throughout the United States, including Chautauqua tours in the Great Plains states, Missouri and Illinois, Massachusetts, North and South Carolina, New Hampshire, and Oklahoma. Besides his performances, he has presented numerous papers on Thoreau at academic conferences, and he has published articles on Thoreau, Annie Dillard, and Wendell Berry in academic journals. To learn more about his "Thoreau" program, visit his website at www.thoreaulive.com.



of Forest Trees" and the larger work that grew out of it — "The Dispersion of Seeds" — were significant documents in the history of science for their pioneering work in the ecology of seed dispersion. In this work, Thoreau presented meticulous observations about his local environment, demonstrating the ways by which the seeds of trees were annually transported to new locales and then grew under the canopy of different, established species. His explanation of natural succession provided a sound solution to the perplexing problem of woodland management. If farmers would deliberately plant trees according to the same patterns of succession seen in nature, they would provide themselves with a healthy, perpetual woodland crop. Another writer observed that Thoreau's careful conclusions "demonstrated a grasp of nature as a web of phenomena and processes that made him an ecologist before the word was coined." At the same time, Thoreau's ecological understanding was accompanied by his sense of Transcendental wonder, for the seed itself was tantamount to a spiritual mystery. "I have great faith in a seed," Thoreau declared. "Convince me that you have a seed there, and I am prepared to expect wonders." *

SELECTED READINGS

Thoreau's writings relevant to environmental/ecological thought:

Four works may be found in a variety of inexpensive editions: *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, *Walden*, *Cape Cod*, *The Maine Woods*. Peregrine Smith has made available relatively inexpensive paperback editions of Thoreau's *Natural History* Essays and the fourteen-volume *Journal*. During the last decade, Bradley P. Dean has edited and assembled a good portion of Thoreau's heretofore unpublished late natural history writings. Published in two very handsome volumes, Dean has titled them *Faith in a Seed* and *Wild Fruits*.

Selected secondary sources on Thoreau and environmental/ecological thought:

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Harding, Walter and Michael Meyer, eds. *The New Thoreau Handbook*. New York: New York University Press, 1980.

McGregor, Robert Kuhn. *A Wider View of the Universe: Henry Thoreau's Study of Nature*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1997.

McIntosh, James. *Thoreau as Romantic Naturalist: His Shifting Stance toward Nature*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974.

Myerson, Joel, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Henry David Thoreau*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Richardson, Robert D. *Henry Thoreau: A Life of the Mind*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986.

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Henry David Thoreau

1817-1862



From the collections of the Thoreau Society

- 1817 Born on July 12 in Concord, Massachusetts
- 1833 Attended and graduated from Harvard College (1837)
- 1838 Opened a private school, where he taught with his brother, John
- 1839 Participated in two-week excursion with John on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers
- 1842 His brother John, died of lockjaw on January 11
- 1845 Moved into cabin at Walden Pond on July 4
- 1846 Arrested for nonpayment of the poll tax; took first of three trips to the Maine Woods — the other trips occurred in 1853 and 1857
- 1847 Left the Walden cabin on September 7
- 1849 Published *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* and "Resistance to Civil Government" (better known as "Civil Disobedience"); took the first of four trips to Cape Cod — the other trips occurred in 1850, 1855, and 1857
- 1854 Published *Walden* on August 9
- 1856 Met Walt Whitman in Brooklyn
- 1857 Met Captain John Brown, the radical abolitionist
- 1859 Delivered an impassioned defense of John Brown and his violent actions at Harper's Ferry in "A Plea for Captain John Brown"
- 1861 Visited Minnesota, primarily for the sake of his failing health
- 1862 Died of tuberculosis on May 6

"In Wildness is the preservation of the World."



Saving Our Masterpieces: Theodore Roosevelt and the Environment

By DOUG A. MISHLER

It seemed that from his first days this remarkable New York City boy was destined to be a naturalist. Though sickly and with miserable eyesight, his fascination with the natural world was clear in his first essay, “The Foregoing Ant,” which he wrote at age seven. Over the next 54 years Theodore Roosevelt’s love of nature never wavered. From ants and finches to Buffalos and Sequoias, Roosevelt spent millions of hours studying, writing, nurturing, protecting, and worshiping wild places and creatures. He devoted a great deal of his prodigious energy to protecting America’s wild places for the benefit of future generations

At age 10, Roosevelt precociously launched the “Roosevelt Natural History Museum” in his bedroom. He secured hundreds of specimens, later remembering that “my scientific pursuits caused the family a good deal of consternation as I collected industriously and enlivened the house with squirrels, hedgehogs, and other small beasts and reptiles which persisted in escaping from my room.” Though his parents did forbid him from collecting a rotting seal carcass, they supported his scientific interests. They even had him study taxidermy with John J. Audubon’s partner, John Bell. They did however force Roosevelt to remove his “museum” after the maid refused to enter his room because of the small beasts scurrying across the floors. He spent so much time preserving specimens that his sister once told him he would never marry, as no woman would tolerate his constant reeking of formaldehyde.

By the time of his arrival at Harvard at age sixteen, Roosevelt had measured, weighed, and made notations on thousands of animals. His museum collection numbered over 10,000 creatures, and he had written over 300 pages of field notes on birds alone. Though he would later say “I can no more explain why I love natural history than I can explain why I love California canned peaches,” he gave up pursuing science after one year at Harvard. It was clear to him that the biology it taught was lab based microscopic inspection, not field work. For a young man who ran everywhere, he knew he was “totally unfitted for such a career.”

Roosevelt disbanded his museum when he married Alice Lee at age twenty-five — 622 specimens were taken by the Smithsonian Institution and other museums took 300 more — yet by then nature infused his very being. He forced his once frail body into incredible acts of what he later called the “Strenuous Life.” He became one of only a handful of people in his day to scale the Matterhorn — on his honeymoon. He was also a keen birder whom John Burroughs described as “chasing birds with noisy gusto.” With a perverse glee, he drove himself to feats such as eight days climbing Maine’s mountains. Then after two days’ rest, he undertook a seven-day upstream canoe trip, followed by a seven-day, 110-mile hike to study birds and hunt, all under continual rain. In true Roosevelt fashion, he summarized this period:

Roosevelt’s determination became the metaphor driving his political philosophy:

In the last analysis a healthy state can exist only when the men and women who make it up lead clean, vigorous, healthy lives; when the children are so trained that they shall endeavor, not to shirk difficulties, but to overcome them; not to seek ease, but to know how to wrest triumph from toil and risk.

"I enjoyed myself exceedingly, I am in superb health and as tough as a pine knot. I enjoy every moment I am alive."

In the 1880s, wild America was central in shaping Roosevelt's political views. Growing to manhood in the West gave him a deeply egalitarian inclination. It was also his refuge when his wife Alice died. He went to the Dakotas where he hunted Buffalo in freezing rain, chased desperados in blizzards, and rode the range with tough cowboys who soon respected the "little fellow" with spectacles and an indomitable will. He returned to the East with the spirit of a true social reformer and also with an even deeper reverence for nature. He was driven not just to enjoy America's wild places and creatures; he was determined to protect them.

In 1887, with George Bird Grinnell, Roosevelt started the Boone & Crocket club to save America's Buffalo and big game animals. He asserted that habitat was vitally important for perpetuating animal species, so the club soon pressed for nationalizing Yellowstone Park to save it from "the greed of a little group of speculators careless of everything save their own selfish interests." Soon Roosevelt and his allies moved into a variety of environmental projects, from publishing dozens of nature books to impeding businesses that threatened nature, and even spearheading the creation of zoos in New York City's Bronx borough and in Washington, DC.

Elected Governor of New York after his charge up San Juan Hill in 1898, in his first speech Roosevelt called for the protection of the state's forests and parks. He demanded the forests be protected by eliminating forest fires and over logging. He was the first Governor to ban the use of bird feathers in female fashions after he learned that such practice caused the loss of whole species — "when I hear of the destruction of a species I feel as if the works of some great writer had perished, as if we had lost all."

It was, however, during his remarkable career as President from 1901 to 1909, that Roosevelt's environmental legacy became significant. Even while taking on corporate greed by demanding a "Square Deal" for society, he reserved huge tracts of public land for preservation. In the face of a hostile business controlled Congress, Roosevelt utilized his "Bully Pulpit"



Theodore Roosevelt and John Muir on Glacier Point, Yosemite Valley, California. *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

to deftly create a stronger social conscience in America towards both its people and its wild places.

Roosevelt's passionate first annual message set his conservationist objectives — to utilize nature, but not eradicate it. "Forest reserves should afford perpetual protection for the native fauna and flora, safe havens to our rapidly diminishing large wild animals, and free campgrounds for the men and women who find rest, health, and recreation there. The forests must be set apart forever, for the use and benefit of our people as a whole, and not sacrificed to the shortsighted greed of a few." He established wildlife preserves, national parks, reclamation projects, wetlands, and natural monuments at a rate no political leader in our history

has equaled. "We are not building this country of ours for today. It has to last through the ages... I recognize the right and duty of this generation to use the natural resources, but I do not recognize the right to waste them. Conservation of our resources is the fundamental question before this nation and our first and greatest task."

By the time he left office, Roosevelt had set aside 230 million acres for 51 bird sanctuaries, 150 national forests, 18 national monuments, and 5 national parks. He also created 16 major reclamation projects irrigating the west. Roosevelt's "wise use" actions were quite practical, but clear in them were the curiosity and romantic soul of a little boy. He called Yosemite's Sequoias "a temple built by no hand of man... grander than any human architect could possibly build." Later when he dedicated the Grand Canyon as a National Monument he ordered: "I want you to... keep this great wonder as it is. Do not build anything here that would mar its grandeur, sublimity, and beauty; man cannot improve it he can only mar it. To lose these places is like losing the masterpieces of art."

Roosevelt retired from office in 1909, but he continued to live a strenuous life trying to understand and protect the natural world. He went off to Africa for a year to revel in the hunt, but also to renew his study of nature. There, he collected 4,500 birds and 5,000 mammals for the Smithsonian. His penchant for strenuous natural science later drove him to almost kill himself in his "last chance to be a boy," exploring 1,000 miles of uncharted South America and returning with

Meet Doug Mishler (Theodore Roosevelt)



Doug A. Mishler has a PhD in American cultural history from the University of Nevada, Reno. He has taught at the University of Nevada and Western Washington University. As a public historian, he has written a history of the Ringling Brothers Circus and has consulted on several public television programs. In the last ten years, Mishler has performed as P. T. Barnum, Theodore Roosevelt, Andrew Carnegie, Henry Ford, and William Lloyd Garrison. In 2000, he added Depression and World War II era journalist Ernie Pyle to this repertoire, and he has just completed a new character, William Clark, explorer of the Louisiana Purchase.



3,000 new specimens for the Smithsonian. He even began to espouse a somewhat novel idea, that scientists study animal behavior by observation rather than hunting and dissection.

In his amazing 60 years Roosevelt enjoyed life “more than any ten men I know.” He also accomplished more than any ten men. John Muir declared that camping with Roosevelt in Yosemite was “a remarkable experience. I never had a more interesting, hearty, or manly companion. I fairly fell in love with him.” Henry Adams once described Theodore “as a force of nature.” He was also a force for nature.

In 1919, the great naturalist, explorer, and environmental statesman died shortly after finishing a letter. Fittingly the last letter he wrote was about birds, just as his first letter was to his father 55 years before. Roosevelt’s passing crushed naturalists: John Burroughs said “I can hardly think of him without crying...the world seems bleak and cold since he is no longer in it.” The aged naturalist went on to summarize his friend’s place in history, “his legacy is at the heart of America. Every lover of the outdoor life must feel a sense of obligation to him.... It is a good thing for our people that he should have lived, and surely no man can wish to have more said of him.” *

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Theodore Roosevelt

1858-1919



Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

"I can no more explain why I love natural history than I can explain why I love California canned peaches."

- 1858 Born October 27th in New York City
- 1865 Wrote first nature essay "The Foregoing Ant"
- 1868 Created the "Roosevelt Natural History Museum"
- 1877 Entered Harvard; published first book *Summer Birds of the Adirondacks*
- 1878 Explored Maine with Bill Sewall; made first trip to the Dakotas
- 1886 Married childhood friend, Edith Karrow; published *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman*
- 1887 Started the Boone & Crockett Club, which lobbied for federalizing of Yellowstone Park
- 1891 Pushed Congress to pass the Timber Act, which allowed the President to preserve timber lands
- 1893 Published *The Wilderness Hunter*
- 1898 Organized "the Rough Riders" and fought in the Spanish-American War.
- 1898 Elected Governor of New York; expanded the state parks and forest system and prohibited feathers in fashion
- 1900 Elected Vice President — "a stepping stone to oblivion"
- 1901 Upon the assassination of President William McKinley, Roosevelt became the youngest President
- 1902 Established San Isabel & Santa Rita National Forests (the first of 150); established Crater Lake National Park (first of five)
- 1903 Signed Panama Treaty, which purchased rights to build a canal; proclaimed Pelican Island as first Federal Bird Sanctuary (first of 51); established Public Lands Commission
- 1905 Established National Forest Service led by Gifford Pinchot; established first of five Federal Game Preserves; negotiated Portsmouth Treaty ending Russo-Japanese War
- 1906 Awarded Nobel Peace Prize; signed Antiquities Act and used it to establish Mesa Verde and Devils Tower National Monuments (first of eighteen)
- 1907 Created Inland Waterways Commission
- 1908 Convened first Governor's conference on Conservation; created Grand Canyon National Monument
- 1909 Hosted North American Conservation Conference with representatives from the United States, Canada, Newfoundland, and Mexico
- 1912 Ran for President as a Progressive Party or "Bull Moose Party"
- 1913 Nearly killed himself exploring the headwaters of the Amazon; published *Autobiography*
- 1919 Died after brief illness on January 6th



The Natural and Literary World of Rachel Carson

BY DORIS DWYER

Since the publication of *Silent Spring* in 1962, Rachel Carson's name has become synonymous with the environment. She is remembered for her uncompromising reverence for nature, for her immense gift for lyrical prose, and for her ability to make complex scientific concepts understandable to a broad audience. The central place accorded to her in literary and ecological circles would surprise and amuse her, although she enjoyed considerable renown in her own time.

Rachel Carson was a person of seeming contradictions. The intensely private person came to enjoy the fame showered upon her. The soft-spoken, diffident scientist who found her greatest pleasure in bird watching and tide pools became embroiled in one of the fundamental controversies of her time. The woman who chose a professional career over more traditional options was at times the sole supporter of an aged mother, two nieces, and a grandnephew whom she adopted in 1957. The writer who emphasized the joys of nature and reverence for life spent much of her life plagued with a series of maladies that she called her "catalogue of illnesses."

Rachel Carson's childhood gave little indication of the public acclaim to come. Born in 1907 in Springdale, Pennsylvania, she enjoyed the natural haven provided by her family's homestead overlooking the Allegheny River. She had a close relationship with her mother, a well-educated woman conversant in music and Latin. Mrs. Carson's unfulfilled intellectual ambitions led to a determination to provide a suitable education for her daughter. Earning scholarships on the basis of her writing talents, Rachel later majored in zoology at the Pennsylvania College for Women, now known as Chatham College. Later she was accepted into the prestigious marine biology program at Johns Hopkins University, and soon she began her fruitful association with the Marine Biological Laboratory in Woods Hole, Massachusetts. Her dual interests in writing and science were, as her editor Paul Brooks later described, like "two currents" meeting.

Literary renown came slowly. Family financial responsibilities led her to abandon plans for entering the academic world and to seek a position with the Bureau of Fisheries, where she wrote conservation publications. The superior quality of her writing led to suggestions from her supervisor, Elmer Higgins, that she submit her work to the *Atlantic Monthly*, which published her article, "Undersea," in 1937. "Undersea" launched a rewarding career that made Rachel Carson a household name. Her clear, lyrical prose and her mastery of the complexities of the world as an ecosystem assured her literary immortality.

In the novel, *Under The Sea-Wind*, published in 1941, Carson conveyed sea life through the eyes of its occupants. She thrilled readers with the struggles of Scomber the mackerel, Rinchops the black skimmer, and Anguilla the eel. Carson created vivid literary images of the delicate life forms that reside deep in the abyss. Despite positive reviews, the book's release was overshadowed by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

In the spring of 1963, Carson gave a televised interview for "C.B.S. Reports," echoing both Thoreau and Roosevelt:

We still talk in terms of conquest. . . . But man is a part of nature, and his war against nature is inevitably a war against himself. . . . Now, I truly believe, that we in this generation, must come to terms with nature, and I think we're challenged as mankind has never been challenged before to prove our maturity and our mastery, not of nature, but of ourselves.

The philosophy that pervades *The Sea Around Us* and *The Edge of the Sea* first appears in *Under the Sea-Wind*. Carson chronicled the life cycles that define the rhythms of all species: "For the sea, nothing is lost. One dies, another lives, as the precious elements of life are passed on and on in endless chains."

The 1951 publication of *The Sea Around Us* propelled Carson to the forefront of literary circles. The book remained on the *New York Times* bestseller list for 86 weeks, an unprecedented accomplishment for a work of science. Translated into 38 languages, it received the National Book Award and remains a classic of American literature.

The Sea Around Us further elucidated the themes introduced in *Under the Sea-Wind*, and her lyrical prose conveyed the essence of the sea in a poetic and understandable fashion. She pursued her earlier theme of the interconnectedness of all life and emphasized the central place occupied by the ocean waters as the origin of life on Earth.

In *The Edge of the Sea*, Carson returned to the fieldwork that she loved and shared her fascination of tide pools with an eager audience. The place where land and sea meet had always intrigued her; she viewed the seashore as "a world apart."

The years following the publication of her sea books were a time when forces were unleashed that threatened everything that Carson held dear. The critique on pesticides was a logical extension of her all-encompassing concern for the natural world. The technological breakthroughs achieved during World War II contained the potential to destroy all life. The routine atomic detonations of the 1950s particularly distressed her, and the accelerating rate with which pesticides were used compounded her discomfiture.

The dilemma posed by the disposal of nuclear waste was uppermost in her mind when a new edition of *The Sea Around Us* was published in 1961. In a new preface, Carson excoriated the practice of using the ocean as a vast dumping ground, and claimed that such misbegotten policies portended the destruction of all life. In her view, the issue of atomic power represented man's arrogance toward the natural world and would have devastating consequences.

Despite the awesome potential of nuclear power, it was destruction of another kind that increasingly preoccupied Carson. Her growing anxiety regarding the survival of earth's life forms was piqued by a letter from a friend whose bird sanctuary had been decimated by aerial pesticide spraying. Olga Owens Huckins catalogued the wholesale destruction of birds and insects that resulted from the indiscriminate spraying of DDT. Huckins' letter was a catalyst for *Silent Spring*. Carson plunged into the frightening world of chemical poisons; she applied rigorous standards of documentation



Rachel Carson at Woods Hole with Binoculars, 1951, Norman Driscoll, photographer. By permission of Rachel Carson Council, Inc.

and consulted with experts throughout the scientific community. The result was a lucid, clear, and alarming call for a re-assessment of the governmental, commercial, and public applications of pesticides. She urged Americans to take the "Other Road" that included biological solutions that would respect the ecological connections that massive pesticide campaigns had disregarded.

Reaction to *Silent Spring* was swift. President John F. Kennedy ordered in-depth investigations into government pesticide policies, and the validity of *Silent Spring* was debated in the British House of Commons. However, it was the response of the chemical industry that was the most predictable; they portrayed Rachel Carson as "hysterical," a "nun of nature," "merely a birdwatcher," and in the spirit of the times insinuated that she was a "Communist."

Though some critics consider *Silent Spring* a major departure from her earlier books, it reiterated themes that characterized her previous work. Whether describing the devastating effects of DDT or the complexity of marine life, Carson celebrated the order and harmony of nature. She was fascinated by the interrelationships that she observed in nature, and the persistent message of her writings was that the natural order of life and the connections that comprise the

Meet Doris Dwyer (Rachel Carson)



Doris Dwyer is a professor at Western Nevada Community College, where she has taught history and humanities since 1980. She received her Ph. D. in American History from Miami University of Ohio, and her M.A. in history and B.A. in Social Science from Eastern Kentucky University. Dwyer has been active in Chautauqua since 1994, when she was invited to participate in the Great Basin Chautauqua entitled "Desert Passages." Other Chautauqua characters include Margaret Sanger, Margaret Bourke-White and California pioneers Sarah Royce and Margaret Breen of the Donner Party. She is currently researching the life of evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson.



web of life required the unconditional respect of humankind.

It is indeed humanity's failure to respect his place in the world that is the ultimate message of *Silent Spring*. Humans, and the technology wrought by human intelligence, have undermined the natural order and raised the specter of mass destruction. Carson warned that humans, in their quest to shape nature to their personal specifications, were engaging in a dangerous game, the end results of which were unfathomable. The publication of *Silent Spring* immortalized Rachel Carson's status as the conscience of the nation.

What distinguished Carson's writing from that of most scientists was her ability to merge scientific knowledge with public awareness. Her emphasis on the connections between all living things was mirrored in her own life, and hence, she wrote with passion and authenticity.

There have been many attempts to assess the life of Rachel Carson. She has been accorded a seminal place in the feminist movement. She has also been hailed as the mother of the modern environmental movement. Her poetic descriptions stand at the forefront of naturalist literary tradition, and books such as *The Sea Around Us* unraveled the mysteries of the ocean for millions of readers worldwide. But it is the clarion call of *Silent Spring* for which she is best remembered. Her last work aroused a passion unequalled by any of her earlier works.

What made her such an effective crusader — a label with which she was somewhat uncomfortable? David Brower, a fellow conservationist, provided a succinct answer with his comment that "She did her homework, she minded her English, and she cared." This epitaph would have pleased her. *

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Rachel Carson

1907-1980



Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

- 1907 Born May 27th in Springdale, Pennsylvania.
- 1925 Graduated from Parnassus High School in New Kensington, Pennsylvania.
- 1929 Earned a bachelor's degree in biology at Pennsylvania College for Women (later Chatham College) in Pittsburgh.
- 1935 Father died suddenly and financial responsibility for her mother and sister fell to Rachel.
- 1937 *Atlantic Monthly* published her article "Undersea". She was encouraged to expand the material into a full-length work
- 1941 *Under the Sea-Wind* published
- 1951 *The Sea Around Us* published after excerpts were published in *The New Yorker* and *Nature*. The book received the National Book Award for Non-Fiction
- 1955 *The Edge of the Sea* published.
- 1958 Received a letter from Olga Huckins describing the inexplicable death of wildlife, which became the genesis of her research for *Silent Spring*.
- 1959 Diagnosed with breast cancer and plagued with severe arthritis
- 1962 *Silent Spring* published.
- 1964 Died on April 15th of breast cancer and heart disease.
- 1965 *The Sense of Wonder*, a nature book for children, published posthumously
- 1972 DDT use banned in the United States
- 1980 Posthumously awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom

"She did her homework, she minded her English,
and she cared." — David Brower



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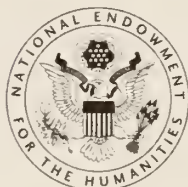
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